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SOCIAL ORDER

Let's Free Trade

JOHN S. COLEMAN

Women in Politics

Co-op Health Plans Grow

Gandhi's "Way" Today

Trade, Not Aid--and Fast

Trends + Worth Reading + Reviews

SOCIAL ORDER

Vol. III

OCTOBER, 1953

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... just a few things:

SOME MONTHS AGO the Detroit Board of Commerce electrified the business world with a strong report recommending abolition of United States tariff walls against foreign imports. Mr. John S. Coleman, who issued the Statement as president of the Board, has long been an advocate of freer trade. In dozens of addresses before interested groups throughout the country, he has presented the case for tariff reduction and the removal of other obstacles to imports clearly and forcefully.

More recently Mr. Coleman took another step toward free international trade. In conjunction with a group of distinguished business leaders, he set up a new research and educational institute, the Committee for a National Trade policy. Mr. Coleman chairmans the new organization and Mr. Charles P. Taft is its president. The Committee was organized on September 17 to conduct research on tariff questions. The results of its investigations will be submitted to the seventeen-man Commission on Foreign Economic Policy appointed by President Eisenhower last July. The Committee will also use its findings as material for an educational campaign to acquaint the people of the United States with issues in tariffs and free trade.

Mr. Coleman has graciously permitted us to print one of his addresses on the question of tariffs and trade in the current issue of SOCIAL ORDER.

In addition to Mr. Coleman's address, which presents the views of an outstanding businessman, we print in this issue an article on the same topic representing the thought of an economist. Dr. Francis J. Corrigan, who presented an article on the self-regulatory functions of the New York Stock Exchange in SOCIAL ORDER last Febru-

ary, has, like Mr. Coleman, lectured on the tariff issue. He has also, of course, treated it in his classes at St. Louis University.

THERE IS NOT A great deal that Americans can learn about industrial techniques or economic ideas from the people of India. Nor is there very much in the States that can be exported unchanged to the peoples of Asia.

Nevertheless, more complete knowledge of each other's life and culture can only profit mutual understanding and sympathy. Besides, some of the economic ideals of the late Mahatma Gandhi can have a moderating effect upon American economic aggressiveness. Father Clump's purpose in preparing his essay on Gandhiji's [I understand from the author that this is an honorific form of address or reference] economic thought was not to read us a lesson in sobriety. The request for a summary of the great Indian leader's thought was made by us in response to many inquiries from Americans.

SINCE JUNE, 1949, when the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association approved a 20-point set of principles to guide lay-sponsored voluntary health plans, this kind of medical care has flourished. The principles, drafted jointly by the Association's Council on Medical Service and the Co-operative Health Federation of America, have made possible intelligent and friendly collaboration between doctors and those vitally interested in the growth of cooperative health programs.

Five months after the principles were approved, the A.M.A. Council on Industrial Health went even farther by stating in its annual report: "The

Council on Industrial Health, the Board of Trustees and the House of Delegates all have approved the general policy of cooperative industrial health planning by management, labor and medicine, provided scientific and ethical standards are maintained. *It is the Council's belief that this passive approval should be changed to active insistence.* At all events, a definite policy is urgently needed." (Italics added.)

Father Aloysius H. Scheller, dean of St. Louis University's School of Social Service, outlines the remarkable growth of such programs during the subsequent years.

A CORRESPONDENT IN THIS issue reports the pride of Texans in another "first," the first woman governor of a state. Unfortunately the pride, otherwise justified by Mrs. Ferguson's gracious and efficient conduct in office, is misplaced. By a curious coincidence, two women were elected to the office of governor on the same day, November 9, 1924. One of these was Miriam Ferguson, of Texas; the other was Nellie Tayloe Ross, of Wyoming. But Mrs. Ross was installed in office fifteen days before Mrs. Ferguson, on January 5, 1925.

Plenty of women have distinguished themselves in office since that day, and in recent years there have been more and more active in the foreign service of the country. But attitudes have not kept up with facts, it would seem. At least the study reported in this issue shows that a good number of mid-western college students still believe that women would do better to avoid political life as a career.

AS THE LEAVES BEGIN to turn and merchants to gather in their Christmas stocks, it's not too early to begin thinking about presents for your friends. Our suggestion is so worthwhile and enjoyable and profitable that we want to get it in early.

Our club offer of subscriptions to both *Theology Digest* and SOCIAL ORDER for only \$5 a year has met with an excellent response, and it is still in effect. Many librarians took advantage of it and a large number of individual readers interested in social matters and theology subscribed as a special gift to themselves and for friends with like interests.

Send SOCIAL ORDER and *Theology Digest* to your friends as your thoughtful and welcome Christmas gift.

F. J. C., S.J.

The economic stability of the free world demands the removal of restrictive tariffs if the aid-nations are to be self-supporting in the international economic family.

LET'S FREE TRADE

Permit the Free World To Earn Its Way

JOHN S. COLEMAN*

Detroit, Michigan

I WANT to talk for a while today on a subject about which we have heard a great deal lately—that of foreign economic policy. And I make no apologies for doing so. For its urgency has increased rather than decreased in the months since the tariff debate began. Where does that debate now stand? The other day, a man,¹ experienced in both the theory and practice of world economic affairs, summed it up with the comment that the best that can be hoped for is a stalemate. This is clear, he said, from the fact that official circles seem to be resigned to the retention of the emasculating peril-point provisions of the Trade Agreements Act. Unless the pressure of enlightened business opinion is brought to bear, all we shall get is a mere renewal of the present ineffective law. Meanwhile, he concluded, nothing in the way of imaginative or courageous action would now appear to be in the cards.

In the short run there are good reasons for this pessimistic viewpoint. A multitude of small groups have been pleading before the Congress for special privileges in the American market, and their voices are being heeded by our rep-

resentatives. Nevertheless, time is against them. There is a trend in public opinion which cannot for very much longer be ignored. A change in thinking is spreading over the country. The meaning of world trade is catching on. The man in the street is coming to see that tariffs affect his job and his income. In traveling about in recent months, I have talked with all kinds of people. Everywhere there is a real concern with the issue of world trade and a desire to do something about it.

As you all know, on November 1, 1952 the Detroit Board of Commerce, on the recommendation of its World Affairs Committee, issued a Statement of Policy on United States Foreign Trade. At the outset we modestly ordered 8,000 copies from the printer; but, so great was the demand that at the present time 250,000 copies are in print. To our great surprise that Statement made news throughout the world. National newspapers have commented editorially, a flood of approving letters has reached the offices of the Board from all over the country and from persons in all walks of life. They have come from bankers, from heads of companies, from newspaper editors, from economists, from teachers, from trade union members and from ordinary citizens. Here is

* Address before the National Sales Executives, Atlantic City, N. J., June 8, 1953.

¹ Clair Wilcox.

dramatic evidence that there is wide agreement on the need for a realistic economic policy. Here is what might possibly be a decisive trend in America's history.

BEYOND SPECIAL INTERESTS

Meanwhile, as I have indicated, there is a battle ahead. The doctrines of Reed Smoot and Willis Hawley are dying, but they are likely to die hard. The protectionists are not inexperienced in argument. And their case lends itself to patriotic appeals. They can cite individual cases of injury, perhaps in a single town, while we must counter with less obvious benefits dispersed throughout the nation. They can appear to be defending the interests of all labor, whereas in fact it is but a small minority. And to gain tariff protection for them millions must bear the burden of higher prices and taxes. Clearly, however, this issue must be lifted above the realm of special interest. It must be taken to all the people. It must be presented to Americans as consumers, as taxpayers and as the chosen leaders of the free world. It must be judged by the over-riding argument of the national welfare.

The problem is fundamentally one of the impact of the United States economy on the world. Behind much of the talk on the tariff issue there seems to be an assumption that ours is a weak economy subject to the attacks of foreign producers. The view persists that unless we take steps to protect ourselves, these producers will, by reason of their lower costs, overwhelm our industries and impoverish our workers. It is a curious thing that the very same people who argue in this way will be heard at another time pointing to the great virtues of the American economic system, asserting the superiority of our industries and inviting all the world to imitate our methods. Thus it appears we are both strong enough to give all the world an example and yet too weak to meet their competition.

The truth is, however, as we well know, the American economic system is second to none. Our large home market, our varied resources, our high degree of self-sufficiency offer unique opportunities for large-scale low-cost production. From our research laboratories comes a continuous flow of new products. Our technological progress ever widens the gap between our productivity and that of the rest of the world. Thus they have become increasingly dependent upon American products, while at the same time they find it more and more difficult to produce competitive exports with which to pay for them.

After the war this problem was aggravated by the needs of reconstruction. Far from being damaged, the American economy came through with expanded production facilities. Only the United States could supply the food and equipment necessary to rebuild the shattered nations of Western Europe. Hence, the demand for American goods became greater than ever. And, despite Marshall Aid, that demand has continued. The reconstruction of Europe has proved to be more difficult than at first estimated. Though remarkable progress has been made, it has been insufficient to permit the relaxation of exchange controls. With the outbreak of war in Korea, new burdens were placed on economies already living at the edge of economic crisis. On an economy producing barely a sufficiency for civilian needs were superimposed the additional tasks of defense. Again the United States is meeting the deficit.

AMERICAN AID CRUCIAL

Thus, as a result of devastation during the war, of the difficulties of reconstruction and of new military demands, Western Europe has maintained itself only by virtue of American gifts. In fact, since 1945 the world has been importing United States goods at the annual rate of about \$5 billion in excess

of their ability to pay. It has been a cardinal principle of American foreign policy that we cannot allow the 150 million people of Western Europe with their traditions of freedom, their technical skill and their rich resources to fall into communist hands. We have, therefore, recognized that their strength is our interest and we have paid the bill.

NOT AMERICAN WEAKNESS

Let us, then, get the record straight. The American economy is *not* weak. It is not open to the devastating inroads of foreign competition. On the contrary, it is so overwhelmingly strong that we have been obliged on the average to send away annually \$5 billion worth of goods free of charge. We have been willing to give these goods away because our friends were in no position to pay for them. Yet, we now turn around and say that these same people are fierce competitors threatening American industry and the American economic system. Fortunately, there are a few goods which can be sold competitively in our market. Thank goodness that other countries have some ways of earning the dollars to pay for their imports. The Swiss can send us watches, the British can send us whisky, the Danes can send us cheese, the Belgians, chemicals and so on.

By selling these goods in our market, these countries become less dependent on aid, less dependent on you and me, the American taxpayer. And the American consumer, who is so often forgotten in these discussions, is permitted to buy the goods he wants at a price he considers satisfactory. Moreover, what seems to us a small item is often a very significant one to a foreign producer. As the United States Department of Commerce recently pointed out, for some countries our imports represent a major part of their total exports and even of their total national income. Nearly one-half of our imports

in 1951 came from countries where they constituted *more* than one-half of these countries' total exports.

What do the protectionists want? What is the logical end of their arguments? If any American sets up a shop to manufacture a product which happens also to be made abroad, has he the right to demand the exclusion at least in part, of the foreign competitor? Is that the way this country was made a great economic power? By what principle can this reasoning be applied only to competitors abroad? By the same reasoning, the Ford Motor Company might well have asked for protection against rising competitors in the early days of the automotive industry. On the same grounds the Burroughs Adding Machine Company should have fought the companies which one by one have entered the business machine field. And right now Hollywood should have a lobby in Washington demanding, by reason of unemployment in the movie industry, that legislation be introduced to restrict television.

What, I repeat, would the protectionists have us do? Would they reduce, still further, the existing flow of imports? Do they wish then to increase the deficit of \$5 billion to even a higher figure? And if they do cut down imports, where will our allies get the dollars they so urgently need to pay their way? When our national interests are so intimately dependent on the strength of our allies abroad, can we, even on a pragmatic basis, afford to sacrifice their welfare to protect a comparatively few special interests here at home?

CHOICES BEFORE US

The United States has an annual surplus in international payments of about \$5 billion. This is the stark, inescapable fact upon which our foreign economic policy must be founded. We have three alternatives: we can continue to give away the dollars which make this surplus

possible; second, we can reduce our exports by \$5 billion; or third, we can increase our imports a like amount. We are all agreed that the continuation of gifts is a burden that the American taxpayer cannot be expected to carry on indefinitely. The first alternative is then quickly eliminated. What of the second? We are all agreed that the defense of Western Europe is of prime interest to the United States. We are all agreed that the free world must stick together politically and economically if the threat of Soviet aggression is to be met. How then can we consider this second alternative of cutting down the supply of those American goods so urgently needed by the free world? Thus, only one alternative remains and that is an increase in imports. It is at this point that we are told that the greater flow of goods into the United States would be ruinous.

Let us for a moment look at the facts. Just how significant are imports in our economy? Perhaps I cannot do better here than to quote the conclusion of the Gray Report on foreign economic policies.

The failure of the United States' imports of goods and services to keep in step with the growth of our national output has seriously aggravated many of the international economic difficulties that have beset the world in recent years. Although the physical volume of United States output increased 69 per cent from 1929 to 1949, the quantity of merchandise imports increased only four per cent. The quantity of imports of finished manufactured goods was actually less in 1949 than in any of the years 1926 to 1930, and less than in the years 1936 and 1937, despite the great expansion in United States output. Although the value of United States imports rose by 60 per cent from 1945 to 1949, this rise was largely the reflection of price increases.

In other words, imports are of minor importance in our overall economy and despite the reduction in recent years of United States duties, their volume has responded only slightly.

The fact is, only a small proportion of our national income is spent on imports. For our economy is, to a large degree, self-sufficient. Other more restricted communities must spend a large proportion of their income on imports. The United States can, on the other hand, draw from its wide and varied continental area most of the resources necessary to meet its needs. Moreover, not only are the items not available within our boundaries small in number and low in dollar value, but demand for them is weak and more than proportionately affected by changes in American business conditions. Whereas in the first year of the great depression and in the two recessions since, spending on consumption in the United States fell on the average four per cent, the value of all imports fell 24 per cent.

ACCEPT LEADER'S RESPONSIBILITY

Our foreign economic policy will never make sense unless it reflects the dominating position of the United States in international trade. The world, after the war, was divided into one great creditor and a host of impoverished debtors. Though the situation has undoubtedly improved, many of them are still veering between deficits and a precarious and temporary balance. Judged against this situation, our efforts to clear away the road blocks to freer trade with the United States are wholly inadequate.

It is true that in recent years both under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program and under the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade there have been extensive tariff reductions. Nevertheless, there are still over 3,500 duties in effect, and several hundred are of 25 per cent ad valorem or more. Many of the duties that are of 25 per cent or more are on precisely the items for which there might be a wider market in the United States.

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Rates of duty are, however, not the only obstacles to increased imports. The uncertainty of American tariff policy and the incredible complexity of our customs procedures also discourage the foreign producer. Overseas businessmen cannot be expected to make long-term plans to win a part of the American market, when their very success may cause retaliation by recourse to the serious injury provision of the Trade Agreements Act. And their doubts as to the stability of our policies are only too fully confirmed by such cases as that of the Defense Production Act. To that Act, as you know, an irrelevant rider was attached making the exclusion of peanuts and cheese an integral part of our national security program. As for customs procedures, perhaps I cannot do better than quote the Bell Report to the effect that it takes longer to get goods through customs than it took Columbus to discover America.

OBLIGATIONS OVERSEAS ALSO

Our friends overseas have, of course, an important obligation to do their part in the attainment of economic stability. Productivity must be increased, inflationary pressures must be avoided, the sterling area, particularly overseas, must undertake further development of exports which will earn dollars. Our concern today, however, is with a minimum program for the United States. Here let me make it clear I do not believe the reduction of tariffs is the exclusive remedy. On the contrary, a comprehensive program is required. The repeal of the Buy-American Act, the simplification of custom procedures, the elimination of escape clauses from existing tariff legislation and planning against a recession which would undoubtedly push overseas economies more deeply in the red are other essential items of policy. There are no single or simple solutions

to the persistent problems of world economic instability, but it is urgent that we move forward on a broad front, and that the movement be consistent and sustained.

"HOPELESS?"

These, as I see them, are the facts. I have heard the arguments on the other side and I do not underestimate their force. Just the other night, I heard a distinguished United States Senator speak on this very problem. He listed the succession of steps taken since 1945 to meet the world economic problem—Bretton Woods, the British loan, the Marshall Plan and now tariff reductions. Each was offered as the cure, he said, none did the job. Hence, he inferred, tariff reduction must be classified with the rest—a hopeless cause. But, as I said, no one believes that tariff reduction is the whole or even a major part of the answer. It is not, however, too much to claim that it is a necessary and important step in the right direction.

This same Senator later went on to argue that the whole program must be contingent on equal concessions by our allies. They must eliminate quotas, remove exchange controls and reduce tariffs to the same extent. To that argument, I must reply that the initiative belongs to the United States and it can be shifted nowhere else; for, again I repeat, the core of this problem is the surplus of \$5 billion to which I have referred, and that surplus is on the American side. The problem is to raise our imports to the level of our exports. Hence, the concessions, if you like to call them that, must at least in the first instance be one-sided. Only when some degree of balance has been restored, only when they are earning more dollars in our market, will our allies in turn be in a position to free their trade.

IRREFUTABLE LOGIC

It is time for me to close. In conclusion, let me say just this. I do not wish to indulge in any emotional talk. But a conversation I had recently with a distinguished American military leader comes back continually to my mind. The problem of defense in Europe, he said, is becoming more and more an economic problem. We urge our allies to devote an increasing portion of their limited resources to military ends. We insist that their subsistence economies carry greater burdens and consequently greater political risks. But their reply

is always the same and their logic is irrefutable. How can we add a defense program to our strained economies unless we increase our resources by trading in your market? The answer is in our hands, yours and mine. The free world must be allowed to earn its way. In this issue the role of United States policy will here and now be crucial and decisive. We must then prove that business can give leadership, both imaginative and courageous. We must in these perilous days see to it that measures are enacted adequate to the economic facts of our time.

Malthus Unheeded

If our ancestors had listened to Malthus and let him have his way and restrict population growth, whether by hindering medical research or by preventing the birth of children, have you ever considered how the whole balance of history would have been altered? On the continued population growth of those times, hard though they were for the people then living, depended the attainment of British world supremacy in the nineteenth century and the prominent position in world affairs which Britain still holds. . . . If our ancestors really had taken Malthus seriously, there would now be very few of us and we would still be living in an unprogressive eighteenth-century type of economy, probably under the domination of some greater European power.

COLIN CLARK

Even though economists have been preaching the advantages of free trade for almost a century and a half, politicians still have not caught up with Adam Smith.

TRADE, NOT AID -- AND FAST

Let the People Buy in the Cheapest Markets

FRANCIS J. CORRIGAN

St. Louis University

DURING THE PAST two years a ground swell of popular interest has made the question of free trade vs. tariffs almost a national issue. Behind popular approval of tariff reduction stands an impressive series of reports and studies unanimously calling for broad or even total elimination of tax barriers against foreign products. The ninth and latest report is that submitted to President Eisenhower by former U. S. Ambassador to Britain Lewis W. Douglas and referred by the President to his recently-designated Commission on Foreign Economic Policy.

With a Republican administration in Washington pledged to strict economy, elimination of waste and lower taxes, our world-wide tariff and economic policy is due for a careful re-appraisal. And the critical nature of the issues is underscored by Eisenhower's warning in the latest six-month report on Mutual Security that foreign aid must be continued indefinitely. Tariffs and foreign aid can well be just two sides of the same coin — our national security — so that aid can be reduced precisely to the degree that trade is increased. Under the circumstances it is certainly worthwhile to take a hard look at tariffs to determine whether they might not be doing more harm than good. In the

whole question of foreign economic soundness world peace, political stability and the well-being of all free people are at stake.

Since World War II, which left much of Western Europe devastated and economically prostrate, this nation has given away more than \$35 billion through U.N.R.R.A., E.C.A., M.S.A. and other agencies. These programs prevented a collapse of living standards, gave Europe a chance to get her productive plants in order and, more significantly, saved a large part of the free world from being swallowed by the Red bear.

TAKE ANOTHER LOOK

Today, aside from the implications arising from changed political attitudes at home, our entire foreign aid program demands immediate attention.

First of all, there is a limit to our playing the role of Lord Bountiful on an indefinite run. Our resources, which make those gifts possible, are not inexhaustible. Moreover, indefinite economic aid merely prolongs the period of transition from a war-ravaged economy to one capable of earning its own way. As long as help continues, the ultimate and inevitable readjustment from

war to peace becomes all the more difficult. In fact, foreign aid can be something like heroin; countries that needed a "shot in the arm" soon may not be able to get along without it. Continued aid then shelters them from the kind of economic forces needed to make them more efficient. Finally, evidence is accumulating that our foreign assistance programs are misunderstood—and even resented—and seem to generate abroad almost as much ill will as good.

Obviously we cannot suddenly cut off all economic aid. Aside from the catastrophic effect upon foreign military programs, it is likely that total economic collapse would quickly follow (though this is far from certain). Any limited saving would be wiped out entirely by the resultant heavy losses for our allies and ourselves. The beleaguered American taxpayer would soon find himself in deeper trouble than before.

Since 1919, the excess of what we sell abroad over what we buy in foreign markets amounts to some \$80 billion. Over the years the gap has been plugged by a series of private and governmental loans, some of which are in default because of the dollar shortage, and by foreign shipments of gold to this country. Since most of the world's gold is now in Fort Knox and gold reserves in many foreign capitals are dangerously low, this device cannot help much longer.

In every year since the close of World War II, with the exception of 1950, our foreign trade balance has exceeded \$5 billion. It is obvious what an abrupt stoppage of foreign assistance of some kind would do.

INTERESTS BOUND TOGETHER

If peace, freedom and security are the goals of our foreign policy, then our economic policies must foster those objectives. We must help other free nations to increase their production and trade so as to establish a sounder basis for economic progress and a surer and

higher standard of living for their peoples. It may well be, however, that in terms of costs and benefits these goals can be obtained more readily if we permit foreign nations to earn their own way by trade, instead of handing it to them as charity. And it goes without saying that what they make for themselves will do a lot more for their self-respect than doles. Accordingly, the tariff policies of this nation must be critically appraised to determine not only whether they genuinely serve our foreign policy but also how truly beneficial they are to our own economy.

SMITH'S ARGUMENT

To talk about tariffs, it is necessary to talk about the trade which makes them possible. The world's resources, technical skills and labor supply are not equally divided. Common sense dictates therefore that the greatest economy and efficiency in the use of these resources would be achieved if the world's trade channels are left open and unobstructed. The purpose of an economic system is to satisfy man's needs and wants. Trade which permits territorial and occupational specialization tends to increase and diversify the production of goods and services. As a result a higher standard of living is made available. The case for free trade was never more clearly presented than in the following passage from Adam Smith:

It is the maxim of every prudent master of a family never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy. The tailor does not attempt to make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker. The shoemaker does not attempt to make his own clothes, but employs a tailor. The farmer attempts to make neither the one nor the other, but employs those different artificers. All of them find it for their interest to employ their whole industry in a way in which they have some advantage over their neighbors, and to purchase with a part of its produce, or what is the same thing, with the price of a part of it, whatever else they have occasion for. What is prudence in the conduct of every private

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family can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom.¹

It would pay a nation, therefore, to import those goods which other countries can produce more cheaply and to export those goods which it, in turn, can make for less than other countries. Trade between nations may take three different forms: goods, services and credit transactions. Goods or commodities, such as manufactured items, agricultural products, gold and silver are the "visible" items of trade. Services rendered to get goods from place to place, such as transportation in ships, insuring and financing them, are the "invisible" items. Since trade between nations is viewed as an exchange of goods and services, clearly the total visible and invisible exports must equal the total visible and invisible imports. Imports must be paid for; we are in debt for that amount. In the same way, our exports must be paid for; we have a credit abroad to that amount. If debits exceed credits, the difference — "an unfavorable balance" — must be made up by a shipment of gold or may be charged up temporarily as a loan.

BASED UPON SPECIALIZATION

Trade between nations, as we have seen, is not a great deal different from domestic trade. The principles of division of labor and exchange apply in both cases. It is profitable for Florida and California to specialize by growing citrus fruits and for Detroit to build automobiles. In much the same way, it is generally advantageous for nations to concentrate upon the goods at which they excel and to acquire others through exchange.

Even though economists have been preaching the advantages of free trade for almost a century and a half, governmental action seemingly has not yet caught up with Adam Smith. Nations

have exhibited a frenzied determination to live behind closed doors.

Although the most common method of interfering with international trade has been the tariff, since World War I other methods have gained in importance. A tariff is a tax levied on specified imports into a country. While the tariff continued to be a primary source of Federal revenue up to the time of the Civil War, since 1816, when our first "protective" tariff was slapped on imported cotton and woolen goods in Madison's administration, the latter objective has been stressed. This import tax permits domestic producers to raise the price of their commodities to a point that allows them to sell at a neat profit, despite the competition of foreign producers. The American housewife and businessman, the farmer and worker are asked to pay a higher price for goods in order to keep the domestic producer in business. Thanks to the tariff, those industries which operate at a competitive disadvantage are permitted to operate at a profit. The result is that the whole community suffers, for the advantages of geographic specialization are lost. Under a strict tariff policy, the consumer always suffers and the inefficient domestic producer gains. Total domestic output must necessarily be of less value than if effort were concentrated on what can be best produced.

Tariff policy in any country is merely an outgrowth of an economic doctrine called "mercantilism" which flourished in Europe during the seventeenth century. An important tenet of that ideology was that governments should try to get, through trade, as much gold and silver as possible. Money flowing into a country was thought to make it wealthy, while money flowing out was believed to make it poor. Hence, exports were to be encouraged in every way possible and imports discouraged. A "favorable" balance of trade became the fetish of every government.

¹ A. Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Random House, New York, 1937, p. 424.

EVENTUALLY HARMFUL

Eventually, however, such a fallacious policy trips you up. Actually, a nation's imports cannot long be paid for in cash; they must be balanced with goods shipped out. If tariff walls are erected and imports curtailed, exports will inevitably decline. That a mercantilist tariff policy is erroneous in theory is indicated by a noted modern economist:

The mercantilists erred, furthermore, in failing to grasp the idea that trade may be mutually advantageous. As they viewed the situation, what one country gained in trade, the other necessarily lost—an idea long since consigned to the limbo of discredited economic theories. And, finally, their theory seemed to lead to the deduction that production is paramount to consumption, that man exists for wealth, not wealth for man.^a

If trade is good for a country, why have nations deliberately tried to throttle it? One contributing factor undoubtedly is that tariffs are something more than an economic problem. Politicians long ago seized the issue and exploited it for votes. Politically the issue is tailor-made since there is something in it, seemingly, for everyone: the worker, the manufacturer, the farmer and the consumer. Of all the arguments presented to these various groups, the following stand out.

The worker has been told that tariff walls keep out products of "cheap" foreign labor with the result that more American jobs are created. At first glance, this argument sounds plausible, but at bottom it is specious. First of all, nothing but confusion results if wage rates of this nation or that are compared without reference to the productivity of the workers concerned. It is intellectually dishonest to assert that low wages automatically mean low labor expense

per unit of output. The reverse is often the case, and America has proved it—to the amazement of the world. The greater efficiency and productivity of the more highly paid worker often results in a lower labor unit cost than that of the low wage worker. It is no wonder that Mr. Henry Ford II has recently issued a statement favoring free trade. The Detroit automobile workers are among the highest paid in the country, yet the automobile companies have been able to compete successfully against all the low wage countries of the world. To hold the specter of underpaid foreign labor, content with only a bowl of rice, before the eyes of American labor may be good politics, but it is bad economics.

FOSTER NEW INDUSTRIES

An older argument for tariffs, formulated in 1841 by the German economist, Friedrich List, maintains that they are necessary to protect new domestic industries from foreign competitors until the "infancy" stage has been passed. Now it is unquestionably true that if a nation wanted to foster some industry which it hoped would ultimately hold a comparative advantage over more entrenched foreign producers, protection of that industry during its incipient stages would make sense. But tariffs are ill-suited for the purpose. A fairer method would be the direct payment of a subsidy to the rising industry—after the manner of our support of the American shipping industry. Tariffs have a tendency to conceal from the taxpayer the high costs involved in protection, whereas subsidy payments would be out in the open for all to see and evaluate. And, in the last analysis, whatever method is employed to protect new industries risks the hazard of keeping them in a perpetual "infancy."

It is easy for man to rationalize his actions. In the field of tariffs the "reasons" advanced for protecting various

^a J. M. Ferguson, *Landmarks of Economic Thought*, Longmans, Green, New York, 1938, p. 43.

industries can be multiplied—and can be plausible. Against them we must keep constantly in mind the realization that ultimately they all proceed from the erroneous premise that exports should be encouraged, imports discouraged. Enough has been said about tariffs to make it clear that, in the last analysis, the consumer is asked to pay higher prices for certain goods produced under conditions of protection in order that a small number of people might benefit. Elementary fairness shows the injustice of placing the individual welfare of a small group of protected producers before the general welfare of unprotected consumers. (Obviously, of course, the situation is not the same if the general welfare calls for support of some native industries. An example would be the subsidized development of a synthetic rubber industry during World War II.) In general, however, by pitting producers against consumers, tariffs lead to political corruption and disunity. One forthright critic warns:

Tariff legislation is politically the first step in the degeneration of popular government into the warfare of each group against all. Its significance for political morality is, moreover, quite patent. Against the tariff, all other forms of "patronage" and "pork-barrel legislation" seem of minor importance.³

One of the real blessings of free trade would be that the halls of Congress would be cleared of lobbyists and other pressure groups demanding special tariff favors.

OTHER MEASURES NEEDED

Complete elimination of tariffs, even if it were possible in a Republican congress, admittedly will not solve all of Europe's economic difficulties. Many other problems stand in the way of bridging the basic disequilibrium between European and American econ-

omies. Commenting on this situation, the London *Economist* recently noted:

United States imports of manufactures, which represented between 3% and 3½% of total consumer expenditures on non-food items in the thirties, have also lagged since the war; in the last five years the average proportion has been nearer 2%. This decline has occurred despite a reduction of over 60% in the United States tariff on dutiable imports between 1937 and 1951. In other words, even if the whole of the remaining tariff were swept away in the next twenty years, the consequent gain to foreign exporters would not be as great as that which they have secured—and have been unable to make use of—in the last fifteen.⁴

TANGLED PROBLEM

Anyone who has observed the trend of international finance in the past few years knows well that Europe's problems lie deeper than (and, at the same time, transcend) American tariff policy. Before there can be any notable revival of European trade, Europe's tangled currency problems: convertibility, exchange manipulations and "blocked" accounts, must be solved. Attention must also be given to the matter of developing resources in the economically backward nations of the world so that they will have something to sell. A mere recital of these knotty problems is discouraging in itself, so that the magnitude of the difficulties is apt to dissuade from any action at all.

Even after we have persuaded ourselves that tariffs are hardly worth retaining, there is still room for temporizing and delay over debates about what are causes and what are results and what measures should be undertaken first. Alvin Hanson has little patience with such fruitless discussions:

Instead of being too concerned about priorities, we need to push forward with various measures as rapidly as is feasible. There is no one thing that has to be done

³ H. C. Simons, *Economic Policy for a Free Society*, University of Chicago, 1947, p. 70.

⁴ The [London] *Economist*, November 22, 1952, p. 582.

first. Indeed, there would be violent disagreement about which should come first. No good can come from quarreling about priorities. Monetary stability will promote trade and world prosperity. And similarly, tariff reform and progressive removal of trade restrictions will contribute to monetary stability. Each program supports the other.⁸

Even while the "great debate" on tariffs still rages, tariff reduction is a good place to start. The facts of the

⁸ A. H. Hanson, *America's Role in the World Economy*, Norton, New York, 1945, p. 89.

case have been dug out by commission after commission. If reductions did nothing more than soothe the troubled waters of international relations a bit, they would be well worth the price. If our government sharply reduced or, better still, eliminated all tariffs, a refreshingly new answer would be available to the question that has intrigued economists for years: Why do governments persist in standing in the way of their citizens who wish to follow the commonsense rule of buying in the cheapest markets?



How Gandhi Opposed Communism

Under my plan the state will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred. I will not wait till I have converted the whole society to my view but will straightway make a beginning with myself. It goes without saying that I cannot hope to bring about economic equality of my conception, if I am the owner of fifty motor cars or even of ten *bigbas* of land. For that I have to reduce myself to the level of the poorest of the poor. That is what I have been trying to do for the last fifty years or more, and so I claim to be a foremost communist although I make use of cars and other facilities offered to me by the rich. They had no hold on me and I can shed them at a moment's notice, if the interests of the masses demand it.

MAHATMA GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi's economic program for India, based upon simple, cottage production and realistic evaluation of needs, has been bypassed by the present leaders of the nation.

GANDHI'S "WAY" TODAY

A Modest Standard for a Simple Way of Life

CYRIL C. CLUMP, S. J.

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IT is a commonplace that liberal capitalism's depressions and breadlines have bred distrust of an economic system based on theories of economic equilibrium, self-interest and free competition. Many alternative systems have, in recent years, been advocated in western Europe, ranging from a "reformed type" of capitalism to that of economic totalitarianism practiced in the U.S.S.R. Hence, it may be helpful to examine the Gandhian approach to economic and social problems, to understand its assumptions and practical application. To this end it is necessary to remember that Gandhiji was faced with two urgent and immediate problems: national independence and the struggle against the oppressing poverty of the masses concentrated in the villages of India.

From this preoccupation was born the Gandhian economic effort to improve the material welfare of the millions in the villages. But how was this to be done? The answer was found in Gandhiji's faith in *swadeshi*. This is a compound word and means, "one's own country." According to a definition given by Gandhiji to a close friend, Mr. C. F. Andrews, "*Swadeshi* is that spirit within us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote." Hence, "In the field of economics I should only use those things that are produced by my

immediate neighbours, and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting."

Explaining this theory of "*economic swadeshi*" still further, Gandhiji says,

Much of the deep poverty of India is due to the departure from *swadeshi* in economic life. If not a single article of commerce had been brought from outside, India should be today a land flowing with milk and honey. But that was not to be I think of economic *swadeshi* not as a boycott movement undertaken by way of revenge, but as a religious principle to be followed by all. I am no economist, but I have read some treatises which show that England could easily have become a self-contained country growing all the produce she needs. India cannot live for Lancashire, or any other country, before she is able to live for herself, and she can live for herself only if she produces everything for her own requirements within her own borders. She need not be drawn into the vortex of mad and ruinous competition which breeds fratricide, jealousy and many other evils. . . . If we follow the doctrine of *swadeshi*, it will be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply their wants, assuming that there are neighbours who are in need of healthy occupation. Then every village in India will be almost a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally produced.¹

¹ C. F. Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 118-125.

APPLIED TO CLOTH

The practical application of this *swadeshi* doctrine to the solution of India's poverty was expressed by a call to the nation to use the spinning-wheel or *charka*. The spinning-wheel for the production of *khadi* (home-spun cloth) was invoked as the sovereign remedy in the struggle against the oppressing poverty in the country. In May, 1922, at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, a scheme was adopted for the spread of *khadi* and the sum of rupees 17 lakhs (approximately \$415,000) was set aside for this purpose. The economic value of the spinning-wheel was soon given further importance when the Karachi Congress, tracing the deepening poverty of the masses to "forced unemployment for want of a supplementary industry during the leisure hours," urged that "only the spinning-wheel could supply that want on a universal scale."

On the basis of this constructive program the negative side of the doctrine of *swadeshi* was strengthened, and the people were urged to refrain from using foreign cloth. The owners of indigenous cloth mills were also requested to assist "the great constructive and economic movement" by, 1. using hand-spun cloth and so giving their moral support to the supplementary village industry of hand-spinning; 2. easing the manufacture of cloth that may in any way compete with *khadi*, and to that end to co-operate with the All-India Spinners' Association; 3. keeping down the prices of their manufactures to the lowest possible limits; 4. refraining from the use of foreign silks or artificial silk in their manufactures; 5. exchanging the existing stock of foreign piece goods for *swadeshi* cloth, thus converting their business into *swadeshi* and by re-exporting their foreign goods; 6. raising the status of mill workers and so making them feel that they are co-sharers with owners in prosperity as well as in adversity.

A year before his death Gandhiji expressed his unshaken belief in the doctrine of *swadeshi* and deplored the fact that many in the country were not loyal to this teaching. He wrote,

I am told that with the advent of Swadeshi raj in the shape of Swaraj (home-rule), the spirit of Swadeshi is fast disappearing from the land. The stock of Khadi is perhaps at its lowest. It is no unusual sight to see what are called Gandhi *topis* (caps) worn by men who are otherwise clad in *paradeshi* (foreign made cloth). If that is true on any large scale, the dearly loved liberty in my opinion would be shortlived. . . . In 1915 I discovered that the centre of Swadeshi lay in Khadi. If Khadi goes, I contended even then, there is no Swadeshi. I have shown that the manufacturers in Indian mills do not constitute Swadeshi. To that belief I cling even today.²

SOUGHT PLAIN STANDARD

Besides being the practical expression of the doctrine of *swadeshi* and a means of giving employment to millions of people in rural India, the *charka* or spinning-wheel was the expression of yet another element which cannot be ignored when trying to understand Gandhiji's approach to material welfare, viz., the simple and plain life. In the speech given above, Gandhiji says: "Think of the bonfire of foreign cloth we had during our first national struggle. Shri Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Motilal Nehru threw their fineries in it. Pandit Motilal Nehru later wrote from jail that he has found true happiness in the simplicity and purity of *Khadi*. It is sad that that spirit does not exist today."

Indeed, it would be easy to show that Gandhiji believed that voluntary simplicity, if not poverty, is necessary not merely for the individual but also for the corporate good. On the other hand, the pursuit of a high standard of living, which not uncommonly was made the end of orthodox economic

² M. K. Gandhi, *Cent per cent Swadeshi*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, India, 1950, pp. 92-93.

activity, had no appeal for Gandhiji. In keeping with the doctrine of *swadeshi*, the practice of plain living (as opposed to that of a high standard of life) is natural to India.

Writing in *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhiji says,

The more we indulge our passions, the more unbridled they become. Our ancestors, therefore, set a limit to our indulgences. They saw that happiness was largely a mental condition. A man is not necessarily happy because he is rich, or unhappy because he is poor. The rich often seem to be unhappy, the poor to be happy. Millions will always remain poor. Observing all this, our ancestors dissuaded us from luxuries and pleasures. We have managed with the same kind of plough as existed thousands of years. We have retained the same kind of cottages that we had in former times and our indigenous education remains the same as before. We have had no system of life-corroding competition. Each followed his own occupation or trade and charged a regulation wage. It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if we set our hearts after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre . . . They saw that our real health and happiness consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet. They further reasoned that large cities were a snare and a useless encumbrance and that people would not be happy in them, that there would be gangs of thieves and robbers, prostitution and vice flourishing in them, and that poor men would be robbed by rich men. They were, therefore, satisfied with small villages. . . . They enjoyed Home Rule.

From the Gandhian principles of *swadeshi*, the *charka* and the "plain life" emerge what we may call his special type of "economics." Obviously, his practical use of *swadeshi*, the *charka* and the ethics of the plain life, make it impossible to term his system "economic" in the same sense in which that word is used by the Robbinsian school of economic purism. In fact, the Gandhian system is neither so narrowed in scope, nor reduced in content nor devoid of all ethical and normative concepts as is the economic thinking of

the purist school. On the contrary, Gandhiji detached his economic thinking from the sphere of pure theory and academic speculation to make it an instrument for the immediate material welfare of the masses.

NATIVE INDIAN SYSTEM

But then, would it be correct to equate the Gandhian economic thought with the economics of the classical liberal school of Adam Smith, Bentham, Malthus, Ricardo, McCulloch and many others? It would appear that the difference between Gandhian economic thought and that of the classical school is very wide because the assumptions upon which their economic thinking is built up widely differ.

It is a commonplace that the scientific economic thought of the classical school was merely a reflex of the nature of economic activity of the 19th century with its insistence on self-interest, profit and free trade, all of which have been broadly expressed by three fundamental laws: 1. The law of self-interest, which, in practice, meant the free and unfettered economic self-seeking of the individual for his own profit. 2. The law of free competition which springs from the liberal concept of freedom and liberty, and which in the economic sphere requires freedom from all interference, whether from the State or any other source—this law is, in fact, the basic assumption of the classical school's doctrine and analysis of the "perfect mobility of factors of production," of the "perfect market" and of "economic equilibrium." 3. The law of supply and demand which is merely a corollary of the law of free competition, because it is only when rival industrial enterprises are free to move their resources from one place to another (i.e., when there exist conditions of perfect mobility of the market and of units of production) that the best use of the world's material resources may be made. In fact, the pure theory of orthodox classical

^a M. K. Gandhi, *Sarvodaya*, p. 6.

economics is based on two main pre-suppositions—perfect mobility with regard to the factors of production and of goods, and the divisibility of the supplies of these factors and goods into small units. The marginal utility concept is based on these two pre-suppositions, and the classical economic doctrine raised upon them is admitted to have been fundamentally true to the actual economic world of the 19th century.

Ghandian economic thought was born of circumstances completely different, and in a society whose economic structure was far from flexible. It is not surprising, therefore, that the scientific economic thought of the West can find little in common with the Gandhian way. The structure and composition of Indian society, at least in Gandhiji's day, displayed characteristics which made it impossible to apply the classical economic apparatus for the betterment of Indian economic life. In fact, the villages of India, with which Gandhiji was primarily occupied, tended towards perfect immobility (with the fixity of land and the pattern of employment and division of labor being determined largely by custom and tradition) and the indivisibility of the factors of production and of goods—the supply of workers, even today does not have the form of a collection of units which compete with each other.

STRESSES STABILITY

Moreover, it would appear that Gandhiji's own method of material progress enforced still further rigidity and immobility of the factors of production and thereby rules out any form of mobility, a fundamental postulate of the classical economists. The very principle of *swadeshi* which, as we have seen, means "village self-sufficiency," tends to establish a system in which there can be no mobility of the factors of production! "The villagers are to be their own buyers," writes

Gandhiji to a correspondent who questioned the soundness of "charka economics," and he continues, "They will primarily consume what they produce. For they are ninety per cent of the population." In the same way, the village must support the labor found in the village rather than import workers.

Thus the pattern of economic reconstruction according to Gandhiji is one based on finding employment for the rural population in the village or rural area itself. It must not be sought outside their homes or villages. *Swadeshi* embraces not only the use of the *charka* but also the development of cottage and small home industries, which help remove unemployment from rural India. The idyllic condition of ancient India was based on the economy of the *charka* and the plain life and Gandhiji would fain have it so today.⁴

The difficulty of appraising Gandhian economic thought in terms of the classical economists is rendered still more difficult by his ethical views which play so large a part in the development of the economic prosperity of the country. Gandhiji did not appear to believe that the average individual, even the business man, is anxious about "maximizing profits:" in his view the average person asks but for a small surplus for emergencies. Gandhiji himself insists on the blessings of voluntary poverty. The plain life which he so earnestly advocated is very far from that acquisitive instinct upon which the liberal economic theory erected its edifice of capitalism. Under these pure Indian conditions as conceived by Gandhiji, the assumptions of the classical school break down—there is no mobility of the factors of production, no real competition and no free market.

⁴ *Cent per cent Swadeshi*, p. 46.

⁵ See my review of Haridas T. Muzumdar, *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Reformer*, SOCIAL ORDER, 3 (September, 1953) 323-24.

NOT PURELY ECONOMIC

As we have already seen, Gandhiji once remarked, "I am no economist," and since in the same passage, he comments upon the dependence of England on foreign food supplies, it may be presumed that he did not consider himself an economist of the liberal school, or of the Western type at all. The Gandhian system, in fact, is not purely economic and would rather appear to be an ethical-economic-political system. As a social reformer he aimed at practicability and obviously stamped his system with his own philosophy and ideology. Nor is this surprising, in view of the fact of the different modern brands of socialism and capitalism. It was his constant endeavor

to find employment for the millions who are semi-starved because they are forced to live in complete or semi-idleness. . . . The big industries can never, they don't hope to, overtake the unemployed millions. Their aim is primarily to make money for the few owners, never the direct one of finding employment for the unemployed millions. The organizers of Khadi and other village industries don't hope in the near future to affect the big industries. . . . They [their activities] are designed to well utilize the leisure hours of the idle millions.

Gandhiji had no quarrel with the machine, except that it deprived millions of work. "I hold that the machinery method," he writes in *Young India*, on July 2nd, 1931, "is harmful when the same thing can be done easily by millions of hands not otherwise occupied. It is any day better and safer for the millions spread in the seven hundred thousand villages of India scattered over an area nineteen hundred miles long and fifteen hundred broad that they manufacture their own clothing in their villages even as they prepare their own food. These villages cannot retain the freedom they have enjoyed from time immemorial, if they do not control the production of prime necessities of life."

But if Gandhiji ardently longed for the material betterment of the village

population of the country, he was as ardent in his desire that the people should not indulge in a life of luxury and ease. Thus, his philosophy of the plain life demanded a policy of voluntary sacrifice on the part of the wealthy and also on the part of the consuming public. Rich mill owners were so to control production and prices that they did not ruin the spinning-wheel industry; in fact, these owners were to forego all benefits of imports so as to make the indigenous spinning industry a thriving concern.

SOUGHT HUMAN VALUES

According to Gandhiji, industrialization, which plays so important a part in any modern economic activity, was a kind of violence, that is, the exploitation of non-industrialized countries, and as such, it could have no place in his economic thought.

So far as the socio-economic-ethical factors posited by Gandhiji in his system of economic progress really differ from those out of which the classical economic analysis was evolved, it would appear that they can give rise only to a descriptive study and not to a new economic science. There cannot be a science unless there are some definitely calculable objective forces operating, so that the phenomena are seen to be results of the interaction of these forces. Economics is a science precisely because at its center it is a study of equilibria and dis-equilibria which result when people are seeking to attain given ends by the use of scarce means that have alternative uses. The more perfect the market is, the more the economic phenomena take on the characteristics of objective results brought about by impersonal forces, and the more appropriately can the generalizations extracted from the study of the phenomena be given the name of scientific laws.

It would not, perhaps, be very wide of the mark to say that Gandhiji never attempted a complete economic recon-

struction of India, or a scientific economic theory suited to Indian conditions. He planned and tried to execute a scheme of village rehabilitation, and the first essential of this he considered to be employment for the masses in the rural areas. This involved an earnest plea for the protection of those village industries which gave a living to the rural population especially when their work in the fields came to an end with the harvest season. Many a point which Gandhiji advocates for his village reconstruction is based not on economic, but on aesthetic and moral grounds more or less on the lines of medieval social reformers. Compare, for instance, Gandhiji's insistence on an economic system based on "the simple life and voluntary poverty" with the appeal of Catholic social teaching for the establishment of a social order in which non-economic factors, such as social justice, the dignity of the human person and charity will be the foundation.

It must follow, therefore, that any attempt to read into Gandhiji's plan for village improvement, a system of scientific economics must obviously reveal a certain vagueness and also many weak points. Thus, it is not at all clear if there will be a market-price for goods manufactured in the villages, or even if there will be any price at all. Again, it is difficult to see along what lines the location of village industries will be established, and by whom. Nor are we able to discover whether the principle of consumers' sovereignty will be retained, or how the division of labor will be established. We are left without any answers to these and many more such questions as Gandhian literature throws no light on these economic problems.

Although Gandhian economic thought does not conform to the pattern of orthodox economic thought of the West, can it still help solve the economic problems of India? *The*

Eastern Economist (May 22, 1953), one of India's leading economic journals, writes: "It [*The Eastern Economist*] has turned aside from the economics of the Gandhian age to preach and describe the essential conditions of economic progress. . . . It has been necessary to show, for example, that the Gandhian doctrine of *Khadi* (homespun cloth) and Prohibition were in conflict, and not in conformity with the broad ends of Indian economic progress." This indicates that modern economic thought in India has moved far from that of Gandhiji and that Gandhian economics was suited only to a definite stage in the economic development of the country. In fact, this impression is further strengthened, if we accept the country's First Five Year Plan with its heavy insistence on large-scale industrialization as an expression of India's modern economic policy.

OPPOSITION TO "WAY"

The Gandhian way, with its insistence on village rehabilitation, small-scale industries and a modest standard of living is indeed best suited to the country's progress. Unfortunately, the growth of Big Business in India makes realization of the Gandhian way almost impossible. Such business, with a spirit of material gain and competition as fierce as that found in any Western country, is advancing further and further into the rural areas of the country to the disadvantage of the small industries. It must follow, therefore, that as the sector of Big Business advances in the country, the "Gandhian sector" must narrow unless special legislation inspired by something more than mere material gain is enforced. And then, too, one wonders if such legislation alone would suffice to maintain the simple way of life and the modest standard of living which are the essence of the "Gandhian way."

Almost fifteen per cent of the American working force is covered by some form of voluntary health plan, financed almost entirely by their employers' contributions.

HOW CO-OP HEALTH PLANS WORK

Providing Health Care on a Private Basis

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EIGHT MILLION OF the sixty million persons employed in the U. S. today are covered by a voluntary health plan, according to the Cooperative Health Federation of America. It may be a form of insurance, a health-and-welfare fund or group medical services provided for employees and their families by money set aside by employers. In most instances hospitalization is included, and in some plans dental care is provided. With the dim outlook at present for any federal health insurance program, the unions as well as C.H.F.A. consider it opportune to boost voluntary health plans, which have, moreover, found considerable favor with management.

The Cooperative Health Federation of America, under the vigorous leadership of Mr. Jerry Voorhis, former U.S. congressman from California, has enjoyed a healthy growth since its inception in 1946, both in membership and in prestige. Organized at Two Harbors, Minnesota, seven years ago, it counts eighteen organizations among its regular members and 28 associated members. Members are found as far West as Arizona and as far East as New York, with associations in Texas as well as in Maine. Winner, South Dakota, and Amherst, Texas, have health associations as flourishing as those in New York and Chicago. For all these C.H.F.A. is generally recognized as the national voice of democratically controlled cooperative health groups throughout the country.

PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION

The program and objectives of C.H.F.A. are summarized in its manual:

1. To bring to all people the advantages of the great benefits of modern medical science.
2. To represent the consumers' interests in all matters pertaining to the distribution of health and medical care.
3. To set standards for the organization and operation of consumer-sponsored health plans.
4. To help new groups to organize for supplying their health needs with the facilities and services necessary.
5. To carry on an intensive program of health education among the people.
6. To secure and maintain the legal right of the people to organize their own health plans and to work with doctors in their development."

To carry out its purposes C.H.F.A. publishes and distributes literature concerning health problems, as well as others dealing with the organization and administration of cooperative group health plans. A monthly information letter comments on the progress of these plans throughout the United States. A statement of basic policy which serves as a guide for standards to be applied in setting up a program is available on request at its offices in Chicago. C.H.F.A. is working continuously to enlist the support of organized medicine toward repealing restrictive legislation against the formation of group health plans by consumers of medical services and the elimination of profes-

sional discrimination against doctors associated with group health programs.

While the movement for cooperative health plans seems both highly desirable and reasonable, in view of the high costs of medical care for laborers and their families, it would be inaccurate to assume that they have been developed without the strong pressure of labor through its unions. In fact, labor goes so far as to claim a large share of the credit—perhaps not incorrectly—for the general improvement of medical care and the consequent increasing longevity of the American people.

FACE OBSTACLES

The establishment of voluntary health plans meets with two great obstacles: first, the costs, which are generally borne by management alone; and secondly, in the case of group medical services, securing qualified doctors who are willing to engage in group medical practice. When group health plans are developed there is as much insistence on the quality as on the multiplicity of services. There is strangely enough, from the layman's point of view, great reluctance on the part of individual doctors as well as medical societies to enlist in the practice of group medical services.

It may be of interest to learn something of a typical cooperative health plan. At the seventh annual C.H.F.A. meeting, held in St. Louis from June 29 to July 1, 1953, compliments were paid by no less an authority than Dr. Franz Goldmann, director of the Department of Public Health at Harvard University, to the Labor Health Institute of St. Louis. Dr. Goldmann stated that the L.H.I. is unique in this country for the quality of its services, the adequacy of its program and personnel. One of more than forty members of C.H.F.A., L.H.I. has functioned since July, 1945. Originally L.H.I. was set up by a C.I.O. local of warehouse workers; later it was affiliated with the A.F.L. Teamsters' union. In negotiating its contracts with

employers the union secures provisions for a health and welfare fund contributed by employers and representing an amount equal to 3.5 per cent to five per cent of the salaries of all employees. For 3.5 per cent medical, dental and hospital services are provided to individual workers, and for five per cent the workers' dependents are also included. In 1952 more than 200 shops in St. Louis were on the five per cent plan (from a large shoe company to a potato chip company) and another nine shops were on the 3.5 per cent plan.

L.H.I. is a pro forma corporation, entirely independent of the union, both in its administration and financial control. It is governed by a lay board of trustees, elected by union members. A medical director, who is a doctor, has primary responsibility for the administration of L.H.I. and for the appointment of the professional staff under policies established by the board of trustees. In the selection of the professional staff consideration is given both to the qualifications of the person and to his social-mindedness. "There is no place for the rugged individualist in L.H.I.," says Dr. John McNeel, its present medical director. The professional staff consists of 47 doctors, three neurologists and psychiatrists and 13 dentists. Most of these, however, are on part-time service. Salaries for the professional staff are determined by the "going" rate of the specialities, with a range from \$12,325.00 to \$17,019.00 last year.

HIGH PROFESSIONAL MORALE

The medical director of L.H.I. and an advisory board supervise the planning of all medical and dental services. Weekly meetings of the entire staff are held to discuss case situations that have arisen. These meetings, as well as all other activities of the professional staff, including the nurses and technicians, are entirely free from lay control or influence. The high morale of the staff testifies to their enthusiasm for L.H.I.

SOCIAL ORDER

In its own medical center, located in the heart of the St. Louis business district, medical and dental services are available to members six days a week, from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Friday and on Saturday from 9 a.m. to noon. Staff members on medical service also take turns on calls at all hours of the night for emergency service in the homes of members. Routine hospital and home visits are made by staff physicians and nurses when necessary.

L.H.I. undertakes to offer complete medical, dental and hospital care for its members and their families. There are no limitations on the type of care given to the patient, except for some chronic diseases (as tuberculosis and mental illnesses) for which public care is available. In its first years, hospitalization was arranged through the Blue Cross, but for the past several years L.H.I. has provided its own hospitalization plan more economically and even more liberally for its members. For the year ending June 30, 1952, more than 103,000 visits were recorded at the medical center, an average of 280 visits every day. Two hundred and six additional visits were made by the staff to the patient's home, to the hospital or to the private office of a doctor.

The typical L.H.I. family in 1951-1952 consisted of three people with a weekly income of \$51.00. Two members of the family had made visits to L.H.I. in previous years; one was a new patient. As L.H.I. members this family's health bill amounted to \$37.00 for the year. Had they not been members of L.H.I., it would have topped \$337.00 by the best estimates. At any time of the day a visitor to the Institute may see patients waiting to be cared for: a pregnant mother making a call, a child who is being treated by a pediatrician or another person waiting to enter the dental clinic. The beautifully-appointed waiting rooms give one the impression of respect in which L.H.I. holds each of its clients. He is received with as much kindness and courtesy at

the reception desk as the most distinguished visitor.

SERVICES VARIED

At the present time there are 15,000 workers and their families eligible for services at L.H.I. Of these 9,000 members benefited by services of L.H.I. in 1952. As proof of its genuine interest in all who are entitled to benefits, the medical director and the advisory council are making studies to learn why 6,000 other workers or their dependents did not come to the center during the year. Among other services all members are entitled to an annual health examination which includes chest X-ray, dental examination, laboratory tests, ear, nose and throat examinations and any other tests recommended by the patient's personal physician. L.H.I. recognizes that it has a problem of educating its members to a fuller use of the medical center. Non-participation of members is not only a problem with respect to medical services but with regard to policy-making as well.

Employers and personnel managers of shops who have agreed to contract clauses with L.H.I. are also aware that employees do not use the services as fully as one might expect. Some of the apathy is attributed to the delay in receiving services. Most often, however, these delays are the consequence of members failing to make appointments in advance or in breaking appointments. Management also complains about the unreasonable requests of employees to visit the center during hours of work even when no emergency exists. By and large, however, employers are satisfied that L.H.I. serves a good purpose. They see the possibility of less absenteeism¹ as a result of preventive health measures, and they know that concern about sickness or hospitalization is mitigated with

¹ A survey in 1950 showed that while the average worker was off 6.5 days a year because of illness, the average L.H.I. worker-client was off only three days.

the knowledge that the costs are covered by L.H.I. Some employers refer to the ambition of certain labor leaders as one of the undesirable aspects of L.H.I., but they do not indicate how such ambition manifests itself. For this reason, nevertheless, some industries have set up their own independent health and welfare funds for employees and their dependents. Most of these are insurance plans which have the advantages of permitting the employee greater independence in the selection of his doctor and of bearing fuller responsibility for his own health and that of his family. In either event protection is secured against a major hazard for the worker and his family. The independent health and welfare plans are perhaps less effective in protecting the worker from contracting diseases or in detecting them. Most commonly the employee thinks of consulting a doctor or entering a hospital only in case of serious sickness. On the other hand, group medical practice is as much concerned about preven-

tive as about remedial care. This does not imply that members use the services as fully as they might, but there are always ways and means to learn who does and who does not visit the medical center and at the same time to develop methods of encouraging members to a better use of its services. L.H.I. has a year-around program of information sent to all its members urging them to visit the medical center, if only for an annual health examination.

L.H.I. is on a sound financial basis. At the end of the fiscal year 1952 it could report a surplus of one-half million dollars in its treasury. A forward-looking board is already studying plans for the liberalization of its services and greater benefits to its members.

Similar institutions of the L.H.I. type are maintained by the Hotel Trades Council in New York and the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia. The San Francisco Labor Council is making steady progress in its plan to set up its own medical center.

Men and Machines

My own very limited observations of factory life, and reflection on the observations of others, inclines me to the view that Veblen was right, those who feared the machine wrong: in the long run, industry does tend to make men rational, and herein lies hope for the world.

DAVID RIESMAN

Many American college students manifest resistance to the prospect of women taking an active part in political activities: men, inevitably, to a greater extent than women.

WOMEN IN POLITICS

Catholic Collegiate Attitudes

SISTER ANN REGIS SHILVOCK, C.S.J., and BROTHER GERALD J. SCHNEPP, S.M.

College of St. Teresa and St. Louis University

SINCE 1920, when woman suffrage became the law of the land, feminine influence has increased in the social, economic and political life of the United States. More and more women are receiving high school, college and professional education. Women today constitute almost one-third of the labor force and are doing many jobs formerly considered male prerogatives. Although there are only twelve women in the 83rd Congress,¹ there are about 150 women judges, 235 serving in state legislatures, 1,000 in policy-making positions in the federal government and some 10,000 holding county offices.²

As of June 15, 1953, President Eisenhower had appointed ten women to important posts in the federal government, including Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce as Ambassador to Italy and Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby as Secretary of Health, Ed-

ucation and Welfare.³ No doubt these appointments reflect the recognition that the woman's vote was an important factor in the 1952 presidential election.

In 1945, Pope Pius XII said that the "true interests of social relations . . . call for a group of women who can dispose of more time so as to devote themselves to [these interests] more directly and more entirely." Elsewhere, the Holy Father indicated that he was speaking particularly, but not exclusively, of the unmarried and widows.

Perhaps some of the persons in the sample who took our attitude test — to be described shortly — took their cue from the Pope and were motivated

¹ The other eight, according to a letter from Murray Snyder, assistant White House Press Secretary, are: Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, U. S. representative on the Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the U. N.; Mrs. Lorena B. Hahn, U. S. representative on the Commission on the Status of Women, in the same body; Mrs. Katherine G. Howard, Deputy Federal Civil Defense Administrator; Ivy Baker Priest, Treasurer of the United States; Catherine B. Cleary, Assistant Treasurer of the United States; Mrs. Rae V. Biester, Mrs. Alma K. Schneider, Superintendents of the Mint, at Philadelphia and Denver, respectively; and Mrs. Fleur F. Cowles, U. S. Special Ambassador to the Coronation of Elizabeth II. (Mrs. Frances E. Willis was later appointed Ambassador to Switzerland. *Ep.*)

² Pope Pius XII, "Woman's Duties in Social and Political Life," *Catholic Mind*, 43 (December, 1945) 713.

³ They are: Senator Margaret Chase Smith; Representatives are: Mrs. Frances P. Bolton (Rep., Ohio); Mrs. Vera Buchanan (Dem., Pa.); Mrs. Marguerite Stitt Church (Rep., Ill.); Mrs. Cecil N. Harden (Rep., Ind.); Mrs. Elizabeth Kee (Dem., W. Va.); Mrs. Edna F. Kelly (Dem., N. Y.); Mrs. Gracie Pfof (Rep., Id.); Mrs. Edith Nourse Rogers (Rep., Mass.); Mrs. Katherine St. George (Rep., N. Y.); Mrs. Leonor Sullivan (Dem., Mo.); and Miss Ruth Thompson (Rep., Mich.).

⁴ Sister Ann Regis, C.S.J., *Women in the Congress of the United States in Relation to Women's Political Status*, Saint Louis University, St. Louis, 1953 (unpublished M.A. thesis), Chapter IV.

by attitudes based entirely upon a desire to see married women in the home. If this is true, what we label "unfavorable attitudes" in such cases would not necessarily be based upon any derogatory opinion of women's political abilities. In the same message His Holiness also pointed out women's special functions:

"Associated with men in civil institutions, she will apply herself especially to those matters which call for tact, delicacy and maternal instinct rather than administrative rigidity."⁸

WHAT IS ATTITUDE?

Despite all these evidences and authoritative statements—and many more could be adduced⁹—many men still oppose the trend and refuse to abandon the outmoded idea that "Woman's place is in the home—period." There seems to be a widespread belief among males that women are emotionally unstable, intellectually incapable and generally unable to participate effectively in social and political life.

Whether these attitudes are as prevalent as is believed has not been adequately tested. Our research was designed partially to fill this gap, by testing a segment of the problem: What are the attitudes of Catholic college men and women concerning "Women in Politics?" College students were selected because American experience indicates that most of the people—especially women—who have made their mark in political life are college-educated. From the college students of today will come the large majority of the political leaders of tomorrow. Catholic students were selected because they are or should be aware of the recent papal pronouncements on the subject.

We set up four hypotheses to be tested. 1. Men are less favorable than women toward "Women in Politics." This

was assumed from the general impressions discussed above. 2. Freshmen men are less favorable than senior men, since the latter will have been exposed to broader viewpoints secured in their general education as well as in special courses dealing with papal teaching. 3. Men in a college for men will be less favorable than men in a coeducational college. 4. Women in a college for women will be less favorable than women in a coeducational college. Hypotheses 3 and 4 were based on the assumption that the participation of women in college politics is generally accepted in a coeducational college; this tends to influence the attitudes of both men and women in the direction of greater acceptance of women in politics outside of college.

SCALE OF ATTITUDES

In order to test these hypotheses, an attitude scale on "Women in Politics" was constructed according to the Thurstone technique in which statements are given scale values based on the ratings of a panel of judges.⁷ The test consists of fifteen statements ranging on a five-point scale from "very favorable" through "neutral" to "very unfavorable." For example, the judges agreed that a very favorable attitude (scale value: 1.3) would be indicated by someone who checked "agree" to this statement: "Because of their gentleness, I think that women can contribute much to good government by tempering justice with mercy." A neutral attitude (scale value: 2.7) was judged for this statement: "Women with young children should not actively participate in

⁷ For details of the method, see Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*, 2d. ed., Prentice Hall, New York; 1949, pp. 352-354. A copy of the test may be secured by addressing either author at the Sociology Department, Saint Louis University, 221 N. Grand Blvd., Saint Louis 3, Mo. Gratitude is hereby expressed to all who helped develop the scale and to those who otherwise assisted in the project.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 714.

⁹ See, for example, William Faherty, S.J., *The Destiny of Modern Woman*, The Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1950.

politics." Finally, here is a statement judged to be indicative of an unfavorable attitude (scale value: 4.5) in one who would agree: "I believe that women should never have gotten the right to vote."

This attitude scale was administered in three midwestern colleges: a college for men, a college for women and a co-educational college. Each student was asked to check "agree," "disagree" or "undecided" for each of the statements; his attitude was indicated by his average scale score as follows:

Very favorable5 to 1.4
Favorable	1.5 to 2.4
Neutral	2.5 to 3.4
Unfavorable	3.5 to 4.4
Very unfavorable	4.5 to 5.0

Now, what did our investigation show? We will report the results from the men's college, the women's college and the coeducational college in that order.

COLLEGE FOR MEN

In the midwestern Catholic college for men, the test was administered to freshmen and seniors, with the result as given in TABLE 1.

this was true of only a little over half of the freshmen. This is contrary to our second hypothesis. It would appear that unfavorable attitudes grow stronger as college experience develops—at least in this college for men.

COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

In the midwestern Catholic college for women, a sample study was made of all divisions and indicated a generally favorable attitude with some variation by classes. (TABLE 2.) The juniors attained the most favorable score (1.8), followed by the seniors (2.0), the sophomores (2.2) and the freshmen (2.3). This represents an opposite trend from that of the men's college. There seems to be an increasing acceptance of women in politics from the freshman through at least the junior year. Favorable or very favorable attitudes were registered by 90 per cent of the juniors, 81 per cent of the seniors, 75 per cent of the sophomores and 60 per cent of the freshmen.

Comparing the woman's college with the men's college, the most striking difference is the confirmation of our first

TABLE 1.—ATTITUDE ON "WOMEN IN POLITICS": 70 FRESHMEN AND SENIOR STUDENTS OF A MIDWESTERN CATHOLIC COLLEGE FOR MEN, BY CLASSES

	TOTAL		FRESHMEN		SENIORS	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Total	70	100	32	(46)	38	(54)
Very Favorable	3	4	3	9	0	0
Favorable	12	17	7	22	5	13
Neutral	13	19	5	16	8	21
Unfavorable	42	60	17	53	25	66
Average Scale Score	3.3		3.1		3.5	

Sixty per cent of these students registered an unfavorable attitude toward "Women in Politics" while only 21 per cent were either favorable or very favorable. The freshmen, whose average scale score was 3.1, were more favorably disposed than the seniors, whose average score was 3.5. Looked at another way, about two-thirds of the seniors manifested an unfavorable attitude whereas

hypothesis—that men are less favorable toward women in politics than women. While almost 75 per cent of the women are favorable or very favorable, this can be said of only 21 per cent of the men. In average scale scores, the figures are 2.1 for the women, 3.3 for the men. It is quite evident that this is a significant difference which is, of course, confirmed by the Chi-square test indi-

TABLE 2.—ATTITUDE ON "WOMEN IN POLITICS": 121 STUDENTS OF A MIDWESTERN CATHOLIC COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, BY CLASSES

	Total		Freshmen		Sophomores		Juniors		Seniors		Special	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	121	100	42	(35)	20	(17)	29	(24)	26	(21)	4	(3)
Very Favorable	34	28.1	12	29	5	25	9	31	8	31	0	0
Favorable	56	46.3	13	31	10	50	17	59	13	50	3	75
Neutral	15	12.4	8	19	1	5	3	10	2	8	1	25
Unfavorable	16	13.2	9	21	4	20	0	0	3	11	0	0
Average Scale Score	2.1		2.3		2.2		1.8		2.0		2.2	

cating a probability of less than one in 1,000 that the difference is due to chance.

COEDUCATIONAL COLLEGE

The test was administered to a ten per cent sample of the College of Arts and Sciences of a large midwestern coeducational university. The combined average scale score was 2.6; for men alone, 2.8; for women alone, 2.0 (TABLES 3 and 4). Here again we find confirmation of the

tics than men in the men's college? Our figures answer in the affirmative, thus confirming the third hypothesis. The men in the coeducational college scored 2.8 whereas the men's college had an average score of 3.3. Put another way, 44 per cent of the men attending school with women are very favorable or favorable in their attitude while only 21 per cent of the all-male contingent falls in those categories. This is evidently

TABLE 3.—ATTITUDE ON "WOMEN IN POLITICS": TEN PER CENT SAMPLE OF STUDENTS OF THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN A MIDWESTERN CATHOLIC COEDUCATIONAL UNIVERSITY, BY CLASSES

	Total		Freshmen		Sophomores		Juniors		Seniors		Special	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	114	100	28	(24)	32	(28)	26	(23)	25	(22)	3	(3)
Very Favorable	12	10	3	11	1	3	3	12	4	16	1	33
Favorable	51	45	8	29	15	47	14	54	13	52	1	33
Neutral	25	22	11	39	6	19	4	15	3	12	1	33
Unfavorable	26	23	6	21	10	31	5	19	5	20	0	--
Average Scale Score	2.6		2.7		2.8		2.4		2.4		2.0	

hypothesis that men have less favorable attitudes on this question than women.

Taking the combined figures for men and women, there seems to be a general improvement in attitude as the college career develops, since freshmen and sophomores score 2.7 and 2.8 respectively, and juniors and seniors have an average scale score of 2.4 apiece (TABLE 3).

Comparing the total figures for the three colleges, it is seen that the women's college has the most favorable attitudes (2.1); the men's college, the least favorable (3.3); and the coeducational college a figure in between the other two (2.6).

Are men in the coeducational college more favorable toward women in poli-

tics than men in the men's college? Our figures answer in the affirmative, thus confirming the third hypothesis. The men in the coeducational college scored 2.8 whereas the men's college had an average score of 3.3. Put another way, 44 per cent of the men attending school with women are very favorable or favorable in their attitude while only 21 per cent of the all-male contingent falls in those categories. This is evidently

significant, confirmed by the Chi-square test which shows the finding significant at the one per cent level of confidence. Nevertheless, the men in the co-ed college are not so favorable to distaff rule as their feminine co-students. The men scored 2.8 but the women an average of 2.0 on the test (TABLE 4). Here again, as with the comparison of the all-male and the all-female college there is a significant difference—the probability is less than one in 1,000 that the difference is due to chance alone.

What about our fourth hypothesis—that women in a woman's college would be less favorable than women in a co-ed college? On the basis of the actual figures, it seems to be confirmed: co-eds

SOCIAL ORDER

TABLE 4.—ATTITUDE ON "WOMEN IN POLITICS": TEN PER CENT SAMPLE OF STUDENTS OF THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN A MIDWESTERN CATHOLIC COEDUCATIONAL UNIVERSITY, BY SEX AND CLASSES

A. MEN												
	Total		Freshmen		Sophomores		Juniors		Seniors		Special	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	84	100	22	(26)	27	(32)	18	(21)	15	(18)	2	(3)
Very Favorable	6	7	0	--	1	4	1	6	3	20	1	50
Favorable	31	37	7	32	12	44	8	44	4	27	0	--
Neutral	23	27	10	45	5	19	4	22	3	20	1	50
Unfavorable	24	29	5	23	9	33	5	28	5	33	0	--
Average Scale Score	2.8		2.9		2.8		2.2		2.7		2.0	

B. WOMEN												
	Total		Freshmen		Sophomores		Juniors		Seniors		Special	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	30	100	6	(20)	5	(17)	8	(27)	10	(33)	1	(3)
Very Favorable	6	20	3	50	0	--	2	25	1	10	0	--
Favorable	20	66	1	17	3	60	6	75	9	90	1	100
Neutral	2	7	1	17	1	20	0	--	0	--	0	--
Unfavorable	2	7	1	17	1	20	0	--	0	--	0	--
Average Scale Score	2.0		2.0		2.6		1.8		1.9		2.0	

scored an average of 2.0; women in the women's college scored 2.1; or, 86 per cent of the co-eds were favorable or very favorable, compared to 74.4 per cent of those tested in the women's college. But the Chisquare test indicates that in somewhat more than 10 cases out of 100 the difference could be due to chance; hence this is not a significant difference.

Finally, in the co-ed college, do attitudes become more favorable as the student advances to a higher grade? For the men, freshmen have the least favorable attitude (2.9), followed by sophomores (2.8), seniors (2.7) and juniors (2.2). This pattern is the same as that of the women in the all-girls' college. For the co-eds, sophomores have the least favorable attitude (2.6), followed by freshmen (2.0), seniors (1.9) and juniors (1.8). If we combine the two lower and the two upper classes, we find a confirmation of the hypothesis; this combination seems to be justified by the fact that no junior or senior was found to have a neutral or unfavorable attitude.

CONCLUSIONS

Relating the findings of our study with the hypotheses, we may summarize as follows. The first hypothesis, that

men are less favorable than women in their attitudes concerning "Women in Politics" has been confirmed no matter which group of men is compared with which women's group. Men in the co-educational college are significantly less favorable than either the co-ed women or the students at the woman's college. The differences are still greater when the men at the all-male college are compared with the two groups of women." In all four cases, the differences are significant at the .001 per cent level of confidence—which means that the chances are only one in a thousand that the difference is due to chance alone. The second hypothesis, that freshmen are less favorable than seniors, was definitely not confirmed for the men's college. For the rest, if the hypothesis is modified to mean that freshmen and sophomores are generally less favorable toward women in politics than juniors and seniors, the hypothesis would be confirmed by our findings.

The third hypothesis, that men in a college for men will be less favorable than men in a co-ed college, was well confirmed. Finally, women in the co-ed

* The statistical details of Chisquare on the six comparisons we made are:

(Continued on next page.)

college were somewhat more favorable than women attending the college for women, but the difference was not significant; the fourth hypothesis was not confirmed.

Three conclusions emerge from our study. First, it would appear that many Catholic men who have unfavorable attitudes toward women in politics should be advised that they are fighting a losing battle in trying to maintain a position that has the support of neither the facts nor papal teaching. Second, co-education seems to be a factor in developing more favorable attitudes, especially among men. It may be that the observation of women in political action on the campus helps to break down a traditional prejudice. Third, Catholic teaching in all except the college for men seems to be succeeding in developing somewhat more favorable attitudes in both men and women as they advance from the freshman to the senior year.

This trend should be encouraged and further stimulated by re-examining courses in which papal teaching is stressed — religion, sociology, political science and economics courses—to determine exactly what is being taught and to make changes if necessary. If our Catholic college men and women are to influence others in social and political life—and the papal directives in this area are rather specific—they should be led to develop or maintain sound attitudes during their course of training.

While our study is based on only three midwestern college student groups, the differences between the attitudes of men and women are so great that one is tempted to generalize. However, further attitude testing should be done. It may be that results would be different in the east, south, or west. The authors encourage such research, offer their test to others and will assist, as time permits, in compiling the results.

COMPARISON OF	WITH	Chi-Square	d.f.*	Level of Confidence
Co-ed College Men	Co-ed College Women	15.90	2	.001
Co-ed College Men	Women's College Women	23.53	3	.001
Men's College Men	Co-ed College Women	47.82	2	.001
Men's College Men	Women's College Women	55.85	3	.001
Co-ed College Men	Men's College Men	15.44	3	.01
Co-ed College Women	Women's College Women	4.32	2	10.00**

*Degrees of freedom

**Not significant

For details on what a group of experts think of "Women in Politics," the reader is referred to the authors' article which

is scheduled for the October, 1953, issue of *The Marianist*.

Family Allowances

A family allowance program is an absolute essential now and will be a point of absolute fairness even after wages rise to where they meet the cost of basic necessities.

THE WAGE EARNER

TRENDS

Segregation in Carolina

The firm position taken by Bishop Vincent S. Waters of Raleigh, N. C., on segregation in the Church last June has won much praise. At Fordham University's summer Institute on Vocations, in a special closed session of major religious superiors treating of race policy and religious life, Father John LaFarge pointed to Bishop Waters as a champion of the Church's teaching on the brotherhood of all men. Elsewhere others commended the action—even a New York Baptist Negro minister.

Bishop Waters' pastoral letter as quoted last month in these pages was not accurately checked and gave a wrong impression as to the future of all-Negro churches in the diocese. The wording of the paragraph (emphasized in the original) in question is:

"Therefore, so that in the future there can be no misunderstanding on the part of anyone, let me state here as emphatically as I can: there is no segregation of races to be tolerated in any Catholic church in the Diocese of Raleigh. The pastors are charged with the carrying out of this teaching and shall tolerate nothing to the contrary. Otherwise, all special churches for Negroes will be abolished immediately as lending weight to the false notion that the Catholic Church, the Mystical Body of Christ, is divided. Equal rights are accorded, therefore, to every race and every nationality as is proper in any Catholic church and within the church building itself everyone is given the privilege to sit or kneel wherever he desires and to approach the Sacraments without any regard to race or nationality. . . ."

Jobs and Injuries

More than 2 million workers are injured on their jobs, with a resulting loss of 140,000 man-years of working time annually. The 1951 estimate was set at 2,100,000 and the 1952 figure at 2,031,000 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The injuries in 1952 included 15,000 deaths and 84,000 cases of permanent disability (such as amputation and lasting impairment of function). Of the latter number 1,500 persons were completely incapacitated for the rest of their lives.

Temporary and less serious injuries

making up the remainder (1,932,000) disabled workers for one full day or more.

Some of the "dangerous trades" as shown from partial figures from last year are the logging industry (88.7 injuries per million man-hours), metal door-sash-frame industry (41.7), planing-mills (36.6), boat building and repairing (33.7), gray-iron foundries (32.1) and millwork and structural wood products (22.8).

Among the very low rates of injury were synthetic fibers (1.5), explosives (3.8) and rubber footwear (3.0).

Voluntary Aid to Refugees

Even before the cessation of hostilities in World War II, the main pattern of voluntary agency operations in refugee work began to develop. Relief teams from a dozen agencies and half a dozen countries were assembling in Cairo under the direction of U.N.R.R.A. by mid-1944. These teams gained experience and qualification in relief work in Greece, Italy and later in Germany and Austria.

Religion was the predominant motive behind these services. Of twenty agencies working with the International Refugee Organization, thirteen were Protestant, Catholic or Jewish. Although the main concern of each group was to serve its own refugee constituency, they felt a sense of duty to help wherever possible. Of the 311,645 assurances filed for new arrivals in the U. S., for instance, almost ninety per cent were submitted through voluntary agencies.

For a survey of the problem, the Rockefeller Foundation placed at the disposal of the U. N. High Commissioner for Refugees \$100,000. This survey, *The Refugee in the Post-War World*, was scheduled for summer publication.

In 1952 the Ford Foundation made available a grant of \$2,900,000 to assist in providing permanent solutions for the refugee problem, after four of the major volunteer agencies (American Joint Distribution Committee, Lutheran World Federation, National Catholic Welfare Conference, World Council of Churches) proposed a series of plans for permanent aid. The program has worked out into 108 projects submitted by the voluntary agencies, all of which will be assessed as pilot projects.

The story of the action taken by the nations to provide aid for the international refugees is told in *The Refugee and the United Nations*, a booklet just issued by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

C.C.S. Preparatory Meet

A unpublicized session of persons intensely interested in the problems of the South met at Belmont Abbey, N. Car., August 17-22 under the auspices of the Catholic Committee of the South. Twenty-three participated, including two bishops of southern dioceses, one abbot, fourteen priests and four Catholic and two non-Catholic laymen.

Commissions were set up to plan the study of problems in the most important fields: Religion (Bishop Joseph Hodges of Richmond), the Family (Father Chester Michaels, Williamsburg, Va.), Education (Father J. Louis Flaherty, Richmond), Full Life in the Community (Father A. O. Sigur, Lafayette, La.), Politics (Father Marvin Bordelon, Simmesport, La.) and Economy (Father Maurice V. Shean, C. O., Rock Hill, S. C., general planner and director of the session). One of the laymen, Dr. George S. Mitchell, winner of C. C. S.'s 1953 award, represented the Southern Regional Council; and another, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Richmond. Another layman was a union organizer. The Institute of Social Order was represented by Father John L. Thomas, S.J.

Outlines of study in the several fields were prepared, discussed and revised. These outlines, the participants hope, will serve as preparatory matter for deeper study and effective planning.

How Mexico Lives

Preliminary statistics on Mexico's 1950 census reveal that only two-fifths of the population of 25,791,017 lives in towns and cities. Three-quarters of the country's 5,259,208 habitations are owned by the occupants, but nearly half are of adobe (unbaked mud brick), one-fifth of wood and the rest of brick, masonry, sheet-metal and various materials. More than two-fifths have a piped water supply, an equal number get water from wells, and the others either use cisterns or have no regular supply of water. Half the country's 12,000,000 children below fourteen are undernourished.

Less than half a million people declared that they belonged to non-Catholic religious bodies, but of the seven million couples liv-

ing together, 1,795,167 were not married by either religious or civil authorities.

The worst figures represent life in the filthy slums found behind stately city avenues, as in Mexico City's Ixtacalco, where one of every two children born dies before its second birthday.

Again, the "Wetbacks"

Interest in the perennial "wetback" problem spurred recently when Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., after a two-day tour of the southwestern border area, called the influx "a serious and thoroughly unsatisfactory situation."

Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, member of the President's Committee which thoroughly investigated the problem several years ago, reported on Texas conditions to the Attorney General.

State, county and local Federal officials met with him on his tour and gave reports of the latest developments. Mr. Brownell found the accounts of the border county officials "shocking."

Two types of solution have been widely advanced, he said at a press conference. The first would penalize employers who hire "wetbacks"—this solution has been offered in Congress, recommended by the President's Committee on Migratory Labor and by many students, yet always beaten by the farm blocs. This stringent and probably effective measure would hit hardest the "factory farmers" and the agricultural associations, while raising the wage level of American workers and legitimate foreign workers. As Mr. Brownell seems to believe that "the farmers don't want to employ illegal labor," this legislative penalty proposal will hardly be recommended by him.

The second solution is scarcely any different from the last-minute patch-work rushed through by Senator A. J. Ellender and others in past crises. It would "right the situation" by simply granting legal permission to more "wetbacks" to enter the country.

Under the present contract quota with Mexico, 225,000 Mexicans may enter this country for farm work. Yet the Immigration Service border guards arrested 480,000 aliens in the first six months of 1953, compared to the 1952 total of 618,000. This indicates that at least 705,000 have crossed the 1,600-mile border between San Diego and Brownsville this year.

Just now "wetback" wages have hit a new low. Instances were reported to the Department of Justice head in which on the big cotton, vegetable and fruit ranches of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California workers have earned as little as twenty cents an hour.

BOOKS

THE THEORY OF ECONOMIC POLICY IN ENGLISH CLASSICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY.—By Lionel Robbins. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1952, xii, 217 pp. \$3.00.

Once again Lionel Robbins offers a thoughtful study pleasantly wrapped in a clear and urbane style. His intent is to explain and analyze the policy position of the English classical economists—a term, according to him, which embraces Hume, Smith and their followers to Mill, inclusive. The genesis of his interest is the popular misconception of these early English economists as reactionary tools of capitalistic exploiters, who recommended a rigid, individualistic *laissez-faire* program. Perhaps it is an overstatement to say it is “fashionable” to dismiss the classical school on the grounds of class interest.

This small volume treats of the classicists' concept of the ends of economic activity and of the economic functions of the state; and their attitude toward the condition of the people and collectivism. A summary chapter discusses their significance in the broad perspective of the history of social philosophy. Professor Robbins' method is to quote extensively from the original works, thus making available a handy collection of *loci* for useful reference. A proper-name index is included in the work, in which there seem to be various minor omissions.

One cannot help but wonder whether this misunderstanding of the classical school deplored by Professor Robbins is not due, in part at least, to the separation of theory and policy which he himself has so long recommended. Actually the reasonable policies of the classicists lack a solid socio-philosophic foundation. Robbins' fundamental position on the nature of economic science is manifest too in this particular work. He distinguishes sharply between the metaphysical and scientific, using “scientific,” of course, in his limited sense. His references to natural law are usually with a derogatory overtone, and yet his description of the classicists' law and order, apart from the terminology used, seems at times rather close to the scholastic position. Maybe Professor Robbins is laboring under a misunderstanding in regard to the natural-law school similar to the misconception which he exposes of the classicists. One delightful anomaly suggested by this book is that Lionel Robbins who believes that

policy belongs to the unscientific realm of economics has probably given us the best scientific summary of the policy position of the classical school.

This work should be useful for those who have a false idea of what the classical school recommended, whether or not they approve or disapprove of this misconceived policy. The discussion whether Mill was an individualist or socialist is exceptionally well done.

RICHARD E. MULCAHY, S.J.
University of San Francisco

THE FEDERAL DEBT, STRUCTURE AND IMPACT.—By Charles Cortez Abbott, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1953, 278 pp. \$4.00.

This study is an appraisal of the problems connected with management of the national debt after the close of World War II. It deals with such topics as the impact of the debt on the Treasury and the Federal Reserve, interest rates, the effects of the Korean War, the debt composition and how and when the debt should be repaid.

The book is compact and remarkable for its clarity and sound judgment. Its theoretical analysis is so well coordinated with policy recommendations that it should exert great influence upon the administration.

The national debt, taxes and budgets have become the most important interrelated problems of our economic and political life. These problems are no longer of interest to financiers and theoreticians only, but “to everyone who pays taxes or uses money.”

The national debt as it stands today is around \$267 billion with an additional \$250 billion of contingent liabilities. Dr. Abbott is not, however, alarmed by this size. He states: “Contrary to much popular belief, the debt does not bring with it a threat of some cataclysm, or even the presumption that national bankruptcy is inevitable. The dangers lie in other directions. If we do not solve our problems skillfully and in accordance with sound principles, so great a debt may result in the dilution of the dollar, may enhance the risk of ‘boom or bust,’ may undermine the free market process which has brought much of the country's progress and smother the spirit of enterprise thereby leading to a loss of human freedoms.”

The chief problem created by the existence of the debt according to Dr. Abbott is that of patterns of ownership, i.e., "what elements in society are to own what portions of the debt, for what reasons, and what terms?" The patterns of ownership naturally depend on the management of the debt. Dr. Abbott criticizes the Treasury for not setting up, after 1945, a systematic plan for debt repayment, for its policy of low interest rates and predominant use of short-term financing. He shows how the Treasury's unwillingness to abandon wartime policies resulted in conflict with the Federal Reserve and gives a detailed account of the controversy on interest rates.

Dr. Abbott also raises such basic questions as whether a politically-controlled market is compatible with the free-market process, how much power a governmental administrator should have in fixing prices, and with what success he can administer prices which are incompatible with those of free markets. His analysis of the economic effects of expansion and contraction in securities held by the Federal Reserve, commercial banks and individuals, and possible dangers of a rentier class is very comprehensive. He concludes: "As a whole, the post-war policies and procedures of the Treasury and the Reserve System do not reveal the outline of a broad, long-range, statesmanlike program that gave promise of settling the basic questions."

It might be mentioned that Secretary Humphrey's present policies of shifting many short-term issues into longer-term bonds and shutting off inflationary cheap credit are consistent with the views expressed by Dr. Abbott.

The last chapter of the book is a report and series of recommendations by the Committee on Federal Debt of the Twentieth Century Fund. The committee believes that "any debt, public or private, is a drag on the economy unless it increases the productive abilities of the nation." It offers eleven specific recommendations among which the following are of great significance:

"10. We must recognize the potentiality of the national debt as a tool to maintain high employment. We must not be afraid of the debt, for if properly handled, it is a source of great power and usefulness."

"11. The Committee recommends that monetary policy be installed as a regular weapon in the arsenal of economic stabilization."

Familiarity with this book will enhance the value of courses in public finance.

T. A. MOGILNITZKY
Loyola University
Chicago, Ill.

PRINCIPLES OF PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PLANNING.—By Wilhelm Keilhau. Burt Franklin, New York, 1952, 272 pp. \$3.75.

Doctor Keilhau's book accomplishes two main objectives. The first, as a genuine contribution to economic theory, should be of interest to any economist. The second should prove especially gratifying to SOCIAL ORDER readers.

The first objective constitutes a step-by-step analysis of the mental activity involved in formulating an economic plan. On the assumption that every economy implies a plan, Dr. Keilhau proceeds to dissect and arrange in fairly logical order the psychological details of an individual plan. The result is perhaps the most exhaustive, painstaking analysis of economic planning at the level of the individual economic agent ever undertaken. Therein lies the real contribution to economic theory. If the analysis is not entirely correct, it is certainly a pioneer effort which can serve as a framework within which criticism may be directed and from which departure may proceed. Despite the detailed approach and the coinage of tailored expressions, Keilhau's thinking can be followed without too great difficulty.

The second objective is the exposition of an economic philosophy which moves in the direction of the social principles of the papal program. Keilhau's beliefs, like those of an increasing number of thinkers who have no particular allegiance to *Quadragesimo Anno*, offer a strong argument for the inherent reasonableness of the program. Book Two, being devoted to various systems of public planning, reduces itself finally to a defense of liberal capitalist planning. The liberalism of Keilhau is scarcely the liberalism of the nineteenth century, however. With reference to the positions of David McCord Wright, and Father Philip Land in a recent discussion in SOCIAL ORDER (November, 1951, March, 1952), the reviewer feels that Keilhau stands between the two and well in the direction of Father Land's position. First of all Keilhau's position insists that economy without planning is inconceivable. Planning operates automatically on the private individual level. It exists also on a private social level and at the public social level, becoming ever more limited as it leaves the private individual level, however. The latter types of planning become necessary to give the liberal system the desirable degree of stability, without which it must succumb to the centralist plans of its critics. Thus, social and public planning leads to an increasing number of fixed factors in the economy to bolster stability.

Aside from this, it is refreshing to find

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in Keilhau a competent economist who works as hard to weave morality and religious instincts into the framework of economic theory as many others labor at the futile task of assuming them out of existence. Thus we find him rejecting the primacy of the economic man, regretting the way in which Adam Smith and followers neglected the economics of groups and voluntary societies and stressing fair competition rather than free competition. Keilhau insists in his analysis of economic planning that religious and moral instincts are indispensable not only as restraints, but as positive movers. He takes to task the age-old equation of the human to the selfish. All these factors give an estimate of the man's philosophy as approaching closer to the papal position than to Wright's form of capitalism.

RUPERT J. EDERER
Quincy College

ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND RESOURCE USE. — By Earl O. Heady. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1952, 850 pp. \$9.75.

In this book Professor Heady has skillfully blended a theoretical presentation of production analysis, resource use and welfare economics, with supporting data from experimental research.

The first fourteen chapters are concerned with production planning under conditions of perfect knowledge. Presentation of the theory of input-output relations under different conditions of returns explains simple resource-product relations. Coupled with the theoretical analysis is a wealth of factual information supporting the conclusions presented. The difficult problem of choice of resources, products and the determination of productive efficiency, under perfect conditions of knowledge, is expertly handled and amply analysed.

Planning under conditions of imperfect knowledge involves the addition of risk and uncertainty in agricultural production and resource allocation. A consideration of risk minimization and means of lessening uncertainty, through various expectation models and effective management planning, provide the tool for the adjustment of production to uncertainty.

The latter portion of this book involves the aggregate aspect of agricultural production. In the evaluation of agricultural efficiency, traditional welfare economic theory is utilized, premised primarily on income distribution analysis. The criteria of efficiency, considering technical aspects, necessitates the simultaneous achievement of eight socio-economic conditions under general equilibrium theory. Coupled with

this presentation are supporting statistical data evaluating agricultural production on an interregional basis as well as with other industrial criteria of efficiency.

The reader will be impressed by the excellence of the author's grasp of technical knowledge and the lucidity of presentation. This book will undoubtedly receive wide attention not only among agricultural economists, but even those who disdain the implication of its rural setting.

BLAINE G. SCHMIDT
St. Louis University

ECONOMIC STABILITY IN A CHANGING WORLD.—By John H. Williams. Oxford University Press, New York, 1953, 284 pp. \$5.00.

These collected essays published through some 21 years make a noteworthy contribution to contemporary economic literature. The book has two features: an excellent appraisal of Lord Keynes' economic views, unique for its clarity and brevity, and a global view of the disintegration of the nineteenth-century producer-nation, consumer-colony relationship under the impact of two world wars.

No little factor in the exposition of Lord Keynes' views is the time-gap between chapter eleven, written in 1931, and chapter three, written in 1948. The former is theoretic, in as much as it is an interpretation of Keynes' *Treatise on Money* including a judicious evaluation of his theory on bank control of the price level. Affairs were much less complicated, however, in 1931 than in 1948 yet Professor Williams, notably in this chapter, restricts himself to evaluation and interpretation of Keynes' views in the *General Theory*; to this restriction, we owe the excellence of the exposition of Keynes' theories. These chapters will be invaluable to the student of economics who is perplexed by the variety of views commonly termed "Keynesian."

In his preface, Professor Williams states: "the central theme of the book is the relation of economic theory to public policy." This reviewer believes that Professor Williams would have rendered economic literature an invaluable service had he amplified his "An Economist's Confessions," before the publication of this book. It was public policy engineered by Robert Walpole which furnished Smith and Ricardo with ammunition for their classic works. One wonders if Lord Keynes' classic works should be divorced from a synthesis of the public policy originated by Disraeli, modified by Joseph Chamberlain, and pressed by the Fabians. Public policy and its influence on Baumol's *Economic Dynamics*, treated by an economist of Professor Wil-

liams' stature, would have been of great value to students of economics.

The chapter on "Economic Lessons of Two World Wars" leads one to believe that economics is far behind sociology and politics in formulating an international economy. Yet only since World War II has there been a need of internationally-inclined economists, whereas international politicians and social reformers have been making steady progress since the days of Castlereagh. Actually Professor Williams crusades for such an economy: "The history of the interwar period is full of perverse and unstable capital movements which disturbed rather than restored international equilibrium. The kind of development program now needed would require planning, whether or not we like the word. . . ." (p. 164)

This book gives as comprehensive a picture of international economy in the first half of our century as its brevity would allow. It will be an invaluable reference book for both professional economist and student.

JOHN CARROLL, S.J.
Weston College

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RESOURCE CONSERVATION.—By S. V. Ciriacy-Wantrup. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952, 395 pp. \$6.50.

Professor Ciriacy-Wantrup's book records the findings of a long-range research project of the Agricultural Experiment Station, University of California. In accordance with one of the project's goals, *Resource Conservation* offers for the first time "a general basis for understanding the use of our natural resources."

The author begins by outlining the economic meaning of resources and conservation. The second section defines the optimum state of conservation and analyzes various economic forces' effect upon conservation. This is followed by an inquiry into the objectives and criteria of public conservation policy. The last few chapters integrate conservation policy with other important modern phenomena such as full employment, international trade and internal security. The study concludes with a discussion of the problems of coordinating the many federal, state and local agencies that carry out conservation policy.

In view of the recent offshore oil disputes, the importance and timeliness of such a book becomes clear. One, in addition, should reflect upon the fact that the Federal Government still owns more than one-quarter of the land in this country, 455 million acres in the United States proper and 365 million acres in Alaska. This huge

area includes timber land and mineral resources, the latter estimated at four billion barrels of oil and 325 billion tons of coal.

Although *Resource Conservation* is probably not the *primum mobile* on which the final solution of the complex problems connected with the conservation of our national resources will depend, this informative and well-written volume should be of considerable interest to many groups with varying backgrounds and interests: the professional economist, government policy makers, legislators, etc.

GEZA B. GROSSCHMID
Duquesne University

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ECONOMICS FOR THE CITIZEN.—

By Alfred R. Oxenfeldt. Rinehart and Company, Inc., New York, 1953, vii, 745 pp. \$6.00.

This introductory text, by dropping "academic trappings" and by working out from current problems, will, as the author hopes, whet the reader's appetite for continued economic knowledge. Here the student is launched off at once into the moral and social, as well as economic, issues of such problems as: poverty, its causes and cure; income and its distribution; business size, growth and ensuing problems; how competitive is the economy; causes and cure of depression; finally, a comparison of U. S. capitalism with British "socialism" and Soviet communism.

Students will need guidance through the endless "on the one hand's" and "some-what's." Then, too question may be raised about some policy decisions, e.g., on the population problem, a perhaps undue Keynesian anticyclical program, perfect competition as a norm for capitalist performance, an undue broad-mindedness on communist economic performance.

PHILIP LAND, S.J.

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THE AMERICAN WAY: The Economic Basis of Our Civilization.—By Shepherd B. Clough. Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, 1953, 246 pp. \$4.00.

The author originally interested students at the University of Paris with the contents of this volume in a series of lectures.

The ten written chapters should prove just as profitable to Americans. They constitute a brief, authoritative account of American economic progress—an analytic report and history of the seven or eight main factors responsible for the amazingly high income *per capita* in our country. Industry and natural resources, industrial arts, agriculture, transportation and trade, money and banking, labor, business organization are the chief factors which Pro-

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fessor Clough develops concisely and clearly. He has also a preliminary chapter on economics and civilization, a concluding chapter on business cycles and the welfare state and another summarizing his thought on the economic past, present and future of America. An augury of his which runs throughout the book is that our great wealth *per capita* should lead us sometime in the future to be the cultural center of Western civilization.

Except for an occasional remark which might be called into question, the author presents in digest form an excellent overall picture of the American economic scene. He has included charts, bibliography and index.

WILLIAM LESTER, S.J.
Alma College

PLANNING FOR FREEDOM.—By Ludwig von Mises. Libertarian Press, South Holland, Illinois, 1953, 174 pp. \$3.17, cloth; \$1.63, paper.

This series of essays represents the view of an Austrian economist with an almost incredible faith that a completely unregulated market will effect abiding prosperity. The author rejects all controls on wages, prices and credit. In his estimation any use, however limited, of these means inevitably leads to "socialism." With these highly debatable premises von Mises indulges in some over-simplifications which border on the fantastic.

Social theorists will accept this book as a clear and frank statement of a position which simply cannot be sustained in the light of modern economic and sociological realities.

R.F.D.

HUMAN PROBLEMS IN TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE: A Casebook.—Edited by Edward H. Spicer. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1952, 301 pp. \$4.00.

The idea which underlies Cornell's program for research and training in culture and applied science is the desirability of using social science as an aid to technology. Born of that program, this book serves to validate the basic premise by examples.

Fifteen actual cases of technological innovation are presented in orderly fashion adapted to classroom or seminar use. The problem is stated, followed by a chronological account of what led to this situation; relevant factors in the people's culture are then detailed to give the problem its functional significance. At this point the student or reader is urged to attempt a solution of the problem, before

going on to the actual outcome and the author's analysis of the entire process. Successful and unsuccessful examples of innovation are presented, and sound principles drawn from both.

Case 5, Lauriston Sharp's "Steel Axes for Stone Age Australians," is an especially instructive analysis of the wide-ranging social effects stemming from an ill-considered though well-intentioned innovation. Technologists, whether government men or missionaries, should ponder the message of this book: good intentions cannot easily undo the harm caused by imprudently a priori, blindly ethnocentric choices of improvements and their mode of introduction. There are less traumatic ways of aiding a friend, and this casebook helps us find them.

FRANK LYNCH, S.J.
Weston College

SOZIALE THEORIE DES BETRIEBES.—By Franz H. Mueller. Dunker and Humblot, Berlin, 1952, 224 pp. 14.00 D.M.

Dr. Mueller, former professor at St. Louis University and now chairman of the department of economics at the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota, here deals with the socio-economic, socio-legal and sociological aspects of the shop and offers evidence that the shop has a quasi-personality all its own. As the family is the germ cell of the community, so the shop is the germ cell of the economic society. The author holds that the shop should serve as the cornerstone of the social order (*volksordnung*).

His study is limited to prewar material, almost exclusively concerned with German developments since the passage of the 1920 Works Council Act.

The first part consists of an economic comparison of the shop with the enterprise. The second part—the longest of the three—establishes the author's theory of the shop as a legal community (*rechtsgemeinschaft*) through research in legal and administrative policy. The last part of the book treats the sociological personality of the shop which Prof. Mueller describes as primarily an organization, a functioning system, of interdependent parts, an integrated complex of functional relationships. Finally, the report made to the 1948 American Catholic Sociological Society convention ("Social Question of the Shop") is given as an appendix.

The book touches a vital problem of our time: how to reach a workable labor-management relationship. It offers an excellent picture of the central European experiment in legislation toward a new approach. The

growth of the shop as a subject of specific rights and duties is shown in detail, but the restriction to German research does not clarify the development as well as the inclusion of other European countries would do.

If the *volksordnung* is to be based on the representation of labor by the works councils, there then arises a danger that the communists would so influence the structure that the Christian concepts and ideals as given by the author would be discarded. The communists could then easily use the shop community and the works council to overthrow management and free enterprise, as they have in Austria.

DR. HENRY K. JUNCKERSTORFF
St. Louis University

THE ORGANIZATIONAL REVOLUTION: A Study in the Ethics of Economic Organization.—By Kenneth E. Boulding. Harper and Bros., New York, 1953, xxxiv, 286 pp. \$3.50.

To those who know Boulding for the close economic reasoning of his brilliant *Economic Analysis*, this present essay, written for the Federal Council of Church's series on Ethics and Economic Life, will prove somewhat disappointing. Boulding starts from the unassailable position that the ethical can be learned only from a searching analysis of the total socio-economic relationship.

He wants to arrive at some conclusions about the morality of organizations which impede the effective operation of a competitive market system. He proceeds via two basic theses which Reinhold Niebuhr in his appended commentary shows are quite untenable. These are, first, that the growth of organizations in modern times results not so much from their meeting needs as from improved arts and instruments of organization; and second, that organization tending (among other evils) to rely upon coercion is inferior to the market which in the inner play of uncoerced self-interest manages to display the freedom and love of Christianity.

An inadequate reading of history, together with an analysis of socio-political organizations which holds them to be quite homogeneous and also continuous with biological and mechanical organizations, will account for Boulding's first thesis. The second has a dual origin in the economist's appreciation of the market and the Quaker's abhorrence of all coercion, along with the experience of the power of love. Though some Catholics may approve a different emphasis than Niebuhr's, all will agree with him that both Christian revelation and social analysis and history support a better

synthesis of organization and free market than Boulding's.

PHILIP S. LAND, S.J.

BIG BUSINESS: A New Era.—By David E. Lilienthal. Harper, New York, 1952, xxiii, 204 pp. \$2.75.

Mr. Lilienthal, whose capabilities are undeniable, has undertaken in this book an apology for big business. It is his belief that big business is not only an efficient means of distribution and production, a great aid to national security, but also "a social institution that promotes human freedom and individualism." The author shows that the United States of 1952 is far different from that of 1920 economically and politically, and that bigness in business is needed for economic stability and national security. Competition is saved by substitution, research and advertising. Big business is an asset to individual and national security, increased production, efficient distribution of goods to more consumers as well as being an instrument in the conservation of our natural resources. Mr. Lilienthal is not unaware of the perils of bigness in business. These he lists as the threat of the concentration of economic power, extreme centralization, the lack of initiative and daring, the extinction of competition and the destruction of personal liberty. All these objections he refutes except the charge of danger to personal liberty. It is there, as later when he discusses the spiritual value of big business, that this otherwise fine work limps. In summary, this is a thought-provoking book.

JAMES J. CONLIN, S.J.
Woodstock College

OPERATIONS RESEARCH: A Preliminary Annotated Bibliography.—By James H. Batchelor. Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, Ohio, 1952, 95 pp.

Operations Research is an application of scientific method to large and complex organizations and activities. Its objective is to marshal all the information needed for a rational executive decision. The question is: can O.R. turn from its wartime successes to solve peacetime physical and social problems requiring executive decision?

The 310 abstracts of this bibliography are an excellent guide to the literature answering the question. Mr. Batchelor's clear annotations are presented in enough detail so that one can easily assess the value of each article. Two supplements are projected: a list of examples of non-military applications and a list of sources on method, techniques, aids and basic data.

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CORPORATION GIVING.—By F. Emerson Andrews. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1952, 361 pp. \$4.50.

This study, as the author declares in an appendix, "grew directly out of the writer's earlier general survey, *Philanthropic Giving*, [Russell Sage Foundation, 1950] in the course of which he had become impressed with the great recent growth of corporate philanthropy" Data for the study were compiled from various printed sources, notably those of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and from a special survey undertaken by the author.

While total corporation gifts account for only five per cent, on the average, of modern philanthropic giving (p. 19), they are an important source of funds for several types of recipients, particularly the growing consolidated funds known generally as community chests. Moreover, there has been a steady increase both in the amount contributed to philanthropies (from \$30 million in 1936 to \$223 million in 1949) and in the share of profits assigned (from 0.39 per cent in 1936 to 0.78 per cent in 1949—although the rate was higher during some of the World War II years).

The first part of this study reports the factual data on corporate giving with an excellent section on developing policies. The second part studies the beneficiaries of corporation gifts: federated recipients, voluntary welfare agencies not in federated funds, higher education and research, and religious agencies. The final part reviews legal and taxation factors.

This study will be a useful manual for corporation executives who desire to contribute philanthropically to community welfare.

BUILT OF MEN.—By I. Harvey Hull. Harper, New York, 1952, pp. 212. \$3.

CRUSADE.—By Roy F. Bergengren. Exposition Press, New York, 1952, pp. 379. \$3.75.

These latest works on cooperative endeavor offer striking contrasts in the area of discussion and in the manner of presentation. *Built of Men* presents succinct, un-embellished case histories of co-op experience in Indiana; *Crusade* rambles through twenty-five years of American credit union development as one man viewed it.

The former is an experience-sharer, of chief value for people already in the cooperative field who would like to study the problems and solutions of other co-ops; the latter is a human chronicle which could be read with profit both by confirmed cooperators and by the new-comer.

The best section of Hull's book is, in the opinion of this reviewer, the part of chapter one which deals with general objectives. The author here attempts to delineate the relation of cooperatives to the total economy. Poor policies or bad experiences of cooperators are generally glossed over, except for farm machinery co-ops. The unfairness of those opposing cooperatives is clearly shown; no evidence is admitted that co-op policies may ever be unfair or unjust.

Bergengren's book is at once an autobiography, one man's view of twenty-five years of American social development, a picture of the workings of state legislatures, and a "gatherum omnium" of tributes to hundreds of individuals who promoted the credit union movement. It has all the interest and failings of such an approach. A more careful organization and editing would have resulted in a far better book; undoubtedly, however, the result would not have been the book Bergengren wanted to write.

Within the limits of their respective scopes, this reviewer recommends both these books.

WILLIAM B. FAHERTY, S.J.
Regis College

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS IN THE MODERN CORPORATION: Catholic Moral Teaching.—By George F. Bades. Catholic University of America Press, 1951, 179 pp. \$2.00.

This work is a review of the economic, legal and theological work done on the concept of profit in relation to the shareholders of a modern corporation. The author, a priest of the archdiocese of New York, has stated his views competently and his 28 conclusions in summary of his work are worth the attention of Catholic social theorists, especially economists.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT AND SOME OF ITS PROBLEMS.—By Paul H. Casselman. Philosophical Library, New York, 1952, xiii, 178 pp. \$3.00.

Professor Casselman of the University of Ottawa has written a fine survey of the philosophy, principles and procedures of co-operatives, together with a searching analysis of the problems.

The first four chapters give the principles, theories and procedures and discuss the all-important factor of education towards a new attitude of business for service rather than for profit. One chapter deals with problems arising from producer-

consumer relations, another with labor, while chapters 5 and 9 deal with the state and taxation. In chapter 7, the author compares cooperatism and socialism, and finally shows the need for cooperation to act as a governor mid-way between excessive capitalism and total socialism.

Where Warbasse in *Problems of Cooperation* stressed rather the internal errors and difficulties, Casselman outlines principles and procedures for genuine cooperatives and then presents the problems as they appear both within and without cooperatives and on the global scale.

Perhaps the most valuable single contribution is the part on cooperatives and socialism, which admits the similarities but then exposes the widely divergent methods and final objectives.

Capital, labor and students of social studies should all find the book of real use since the cooperatives have an important part to play in promoting a Christian social order.

JOHN J. G. ALEXANDER, S.J.
Weston College

WORKERS' EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL.—By Irvine L. H. Kerrison. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1951, xiii, 177 pp. \$3.00.

Politically heterogeneous, economically solidified and always unpredictable, the American Labor Movement has long been a most enticing object of educational endeavor. Educationists and less altruistic groups have been engaged in widespread efforts to bring ideological, technical and cultural training to the millions who labor with their hands. Organized labor itself has entered, somewhat gingerly, into this field, and the work of other groups is well known. The most effective accomplishments and the greatest potential for success in this field, however, are attributed to institutions of higher learning. In the book under review the very successful Director of Labor Programs for Rutgers gives us an account and appraisal, together with a sagacious prognosis, of the college and university framework for labor education.

The major part of the volume deals with a summary of statistical investigation carried on by the author during the year 1950. In that year there were about 50,000 workers contacted by organized programs operated under college and university auspices. The method of contact varied greatly, ranging from the highly technical and scholastic centers, such as Cornell, Chicago and California, to the broader, more truly adult education approach at Rutgers. The survey shows that there is a good deal

of agreement as to curriculum, a fairly solid contact with the realities of trade unionism and the bargaining atmosphere, but a rather lamentable absence of techniques that would be calculated to attract larger numbers of workers. Fifty thousand is a very small group in the American labor force, and the survey shows that present trends in the majority of institutions covered do not give much promise of increases in the number of workers contacted.

Dr. Kerrison thinks that federal aid to workers' education is necessary if the colleges and universities are to provide for the obvious need that organized labor has of internal democracy, enlightened leadership and responsible activity in the economy. He believes that labor should be treated as agriculture was under the Morrill Act, which gave funds from the national treasury to colleges for farmers' education. The author seems to share a view current among intellectuals that the national government is less subject to pressure (such as caused the demise of Michigan University's School for Workers) than are the state governments. At any rate, he is for federal aid to established colleges and universities and he is for mass education of the truly adult, non-credit type.

It is much easier to find grounds for agreement with the author in the matter of finance and educational method than it is in the matter of goals for labor education. Dr. Kerrison thinks that worker education should concern itself primarily with the problem of integrating the worker physically and intellectually into the total environment. Many, including, it would seem, leaders among Jesuit labor educators, disagree with this broad goal. Recent emphasis by Clark and Drucker of the enterprise as a social entity has made the integration of the worker into his own industrial world a primary object of much educational work. One would like to see more emphasis by the author on matters of new curriculum. He gives little attention to industrial jurisprudence and the philosophy of the labor movement.

In general, however, this is a valuable book.

JAMES F. HANLEY, S.J.
Division of Industrial Relations
Rockhurst College
Kansas City, Mo.

COMPARATIVE LABOR MOVEMENTS.—Walter Galenson, ed. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1952, xiv, 599 pp. \$6.50.

The labor movement is a world-wide phenomenon. Unions are to be found

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wherever an industrial economy has taken root. And the varied history and structure of foreign labor movements serve as valuable reference for labor policy in our own nation. In fact, Walter Galenson, the editor of *Comparative Labor Movements*, contends: "the most fruitful approach to the study of the labor movement lies in the method of comparative analysis."

The present book is amongst the first which formally employs such a research method. In *Comparative Labor Movements* seven highly competent authors, including Philip Taft and Isaac Deutscher, offer surveys of the labor movements of Australia and the major European nations—England, France, Germany, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and Russia. The essays begin with historical analysis, relating the structure of the labor movement to the economic and social pattern of the nation. The next major concern is with the power, functions and policies of the unions. The authors emphasize the influence of the conflicting ideological forces, both socialist and Christian, which have given the specific character to union organizations on the continent of Europe. It is worth comment that of the nations studied, only in Russia, where unions are weakest, has the Communist revolution been victorious.

The editor warns that hasty generalizations are not to be drawn from the labor experience of one nation and applied immediately to the problems of another. Certainly the fact that compulsory arbitration has worked tolerably well in Australia is no guarantee that it should be attempted here. Yet the broad history of the labor movement in other lands cannot but enrich our insights into the problems and accomplishments of labor in our own country.

The book should make valuable reading for all who have an interest in the labor movement.

DANIEL P. MULVEY, S.J.
Woodstock College

INTRODUZIONE AI PROBLEMI
DEL LAVORO: Volume I, I TERM-
INI ECONOMICI.—By The Istituto
Sociale Ambrosiano, Milano, 1952, 435
pp. Lire 1,800.

The real problem of present-day Italy is unemployment. Since the war the number of unemployed workers has varied between a minimum of 1,664,820 and a maximum of 2,412,973 in a population of 46,737,000. The present book, written by a group of young scholars connected with the I.S.A. of Milan, aims to describe as fully as possible this present status of labor in Italy.

OCTOBER, 1953

The authors discuss the economic elements involved in the labor problems. The main topics dealt with are: population, employment and unemployment, wages and productivity. The economic theory connected with each of these topics, the historical development of the present-day Italian situation and finally the statistics describing this situation are presented in a well-proportioned and up-to-date synthesis.

Discussion of theories immediately followed by analysis of concrete facts makes the book a remarkable achievement and useful and interesting reading.

Although the volume is not a primary source of information, it will give the American reader a good insight into the Italian labor situation, for he will not easily find elsewhere so many well organized statistics taken from the best sources and commented upon with such clarity and helpful criticism.

MARIO REINA, S.J.
West Baden College

THE LABOR PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY.—By Carroll R. Daugherty and John B. Parrish. Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1952, 846 pp. \$6.00.

In this textbook designed for college courses, two professors have gathered and re-edited most satisfactorily much of the important data about American labor-management relations. Current information on a wide variety of topics is offered in a volume ideal for college students and handy as well for reference purposes.

The rise of state and national labor legislation is chronicled; the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts receive generous treatment as does all social legislation touching wages, workmen's compensation and related topics. A good deal of pure economics is included as well as extensive sociological material. In short, this volume has covered a wide field with accuracy and in a manner that is suitable for the beginner in social problems.

This book is not written to explore the deeper meanings of American unionism and its inadequacy in this direction—its only defect—may not really be a fault. But one could wish that the two authors had mentioned the growing impact of Christian social thought on American unionism or had included some reference to the probing work of men like Peter Drucker. But Professors Daugherty and Parrish have explored with competence the economic and sociological aspects of industrial relations.

ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J.
Weston College

SUCCESSFUL EMPLOYEE BENEFIT PLANS.—Editorial Staff of Prentice-Hall, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1952, xxvi, 561 pp. \$8.85; to schools, \$6.65.

No mere theoretical appraisal of benefit plans, this is a handbook showing management how to introduce these plans most effectively and how to avoid the problems that may arise. The authors maintain that "fringe benefits" are here to stay and will be granted to employees either by business or by government. The worker wants to be secure, to belong and to have some voice in and control over the factors that intimately affect him. Paternalism will not give security; benefits, installed after an intelligent appraisal of the plant situation, is the American way.

The book has three main sections, treating 1. benefits offering security—nine chapters on various types of group insurance, 2. benefits increasing employee income—six chapters on profit-sharing, employee stock plans and suggestion systems, 3. miscellaneous benefits—six chapters on education, credit unions, home financing plans.

Since the purpose of the plans is greater efficiency through employee morale and loyalty, continuous employee comprehension of the plans is essential. Hence the next section deals with the problem of communication and with employee participation in management. The concluding section anticipates problems coming from tax legislation and labor laws.

The study will be of assistance not only to the harrassed employer, but to students of industrial relations as well.

JOSEPH M. FALLON, S.J.
Weston College

CHRISTIANITY AND HUMAN RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY.—By Sir George Schuster. Epworth Press, London, 1952, 125 pp. \$1.50.

This brief but interesting book on human relations in industry is a Beckly Social Service Lecture given by a man widely experienced in public service and private business. Much of the material in the book had already been treated in the papal writings on labor, but the author lays emphasis on the English scene. Using as his point of departure the divine command of love of neighbor, Sir George proceeds to view the industrial landscape through the eyes of a Christian pragmatist.

Human relations in industry have three aspects: the relation of management with labor, the workers' response and the relation of workers with each other, especial-

ly in the framework of the trade unions. Management must be efficient, yet with a true regard for human dignity and welfare. Workers, too, must cooperate with the management if success is to be had. To do this, they must recognize their creative ability and their responsibility to the community. Finally the workers must cooperate in the factory and in the trade union. Schuster looks upon the nationalization of industry as an "issue of expediency," but he maintains that more advances are made in the field of human relations in private industry than in nationalized ones. Trade unions should work with industry towards greater efficiency. He also urges that the Church stand for right human relations, not advocating any particular economic system. It is with happy insight that the author notes the confusion between scientific knowledge in the social sciences and moral judgments.

Anyone interested in labor relations can profitably read this work.

JAMES J. CONLIN, S.J.
Woodstock College

THE WORLD AND THE WEST.—By Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford University Press, New York, 1953, vi, 99 pp. \$2.00.

THE FUTURE OF THE WEST.—By J. G. de Beus. Harper and Bros., New York, 1953, vii, 176 pp. \$2.75.

The intensity of the current search for a crystal ball which will tell us the eventual outcome of the present struggle between the philosophies and civilizations of East and West, is manifested by the general interest in Toynbee's *The World and the West*, high on non-fiction best-seller lists. In this series of radio addresses Toynbee does not pretend to do what many, attracted by the title, doubtless hope he will do—by no means does he say that victory for Western civilization is certain. What he does is to summarize the ideological, political and historical factors in an equation, the solution of which will be the happy or unhappy end of the cold war.

He points out that to the world, it is the West which has been the aggressor for the last four and a half centuries but that the spiritual initiative has now passed, for the moment at least, to the Russian side. Islam, notably Turkey, has saved itself by Westernization, and India, now master of its own house for the first time in eight or nine hundred years, occupies a commanding position in the world of today. Yet, the spirit of Hindu India is as alien to communism, a Western "heresy," as it is to Graeco-Judaic ideology.

As for China, it first intended to admit

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just Western technology, only to find out later on that Western ideas would inevitably follow. Toynbee claims that we present Westerners, in offering the people of the Far East a secularized version of our Western civilization, have been giving them a stone instead of bread. Toynbee's admirable respect for the Oriental culture leads him to bestow fulsome praise on the sixteenth and seventeenth century Jesuit missionaries who stripped Christianity of its Western accidentals and presented it to the Chinese not as a regional but as a universal religion. "We may expect—and hope—to see the experiment tried again." (p. 64)

Toynbee has an interesting expansion of some early remarks in his chapter, "The Psychology of Encounters," and what prognosis he does make is based on the history of the Greeks and Romans. It subtly suggests that we would do better to rely less on our guns and more on our ideas and religious faith.

In his *The Future of the West*, Dr. de Beus, Minister of The Netherlands Embassy in Washington, has produced a valuable little enchiridion which summarizes Danilevsky's historico-cultural typism, Spengler's determinism and Toynbee's "challenge and response"—all theories of the development of civilizations. He constructively criticizes each theory, makes his choice of one of them and then applies it to his own analysis of the present situation of the Western world.

Largely Toynbeean in his judgments, the author is less guarded in his optimism about the future. The West, he says, still has the creative potential to be victorious in its struggle with communism. Through the way of peace, Western ideas about the state and rulers being *for* men, about God's purposes as man's final destiny, would eventually triumph. Or in war, he says, the West would win because of its industrial potential, sea power, freedom and religion. He does not say that this will necessarily be but that it can be if we rise to the challenge.

Both of these books whet our appetites for a third, *The Losing Side*, from the pen of Whittaker Chambers, due for publication two years from now. The title is a reference to that somber place in *Witness* (see SOCIAL ORDER, October, 1952) in which Mr. Chambers remarks to his wife, "You know, we are leaving the winning world for the losing world." But the theme of this new book is reported to be that the free world need not necessarily lose if good men and women do what they can.

EARL A. WEIS, S.J.
Weston College

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF JAMAICA.—Report of a Mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1952, xviii, 288 pp. \$5.00.

The visit to Jamaica of a team of experts from the International Bank was significant as the first occasion on which an international agency was invited to examine the problems of a British colonial territory (hitherto jealously guarded as the responsibility solely of the United Kingdom). Hence, it is not only an acknowledgment of the high repute established by the Bank's missions but a recognition that the United Kingdom can no longer fill the role of an all-providing father.

The team had wide terms of reference for which government departments and private institutions were requested to supply all needed information.

The main conclusion is that "a rise in production corresponding to the increase in population should not be too difficult to achieve." This is in direct contrast to popular views that to survive, Jamaica must restrict population and encourage migration. To justify the Report's views a bold and imaginative program will be required, for the problem is difficult. Jamaica, with 4,140 square miles (slightly larger than Puerto Rico), has a population of 1.4 million people, with a density of 314 per square mile. The U.S., with vastly superior resources, has 50.7 persons per square mile. Jamaican population is increasing at the rate of two per cent yearly. Unemployment now stands at 15 to 20 per cent of labor force and 130,000 will be added to the working population in the next ten years.

Agriculture is the basic industry, and the Bank's program hinges on increased agricultural production (again contrary to the popular demand for industrialization). A basic agricultural program, including soil conservation, pasture rehabilitation, afforestation, irrigation and land reclamation, will cost £ nine million over a ten year period. In these projects the government will subsidize individual land owners who undertake approved measures. The participants will also be entitled to crop-production loans totaling £ 20 million over the period. The Report expects these measures to increase production by five per cent annually—as against the two per cent population increase.

Most observers agree that the team did an excellent job, not only in diagnosis but in proposing a practicable solution, and the government of Jamaica has accepted the program. Much of the program had been worked out earlier by other groups, but the Report served as a catalyst, both

in gathering all pertinent studies into a coherent synthesis and in lending such prestige to the proposals that the recommendations cannot be pigeonholed.

Such surveys are among the most valuable services being offered by international organizations; it is to be hoped that more of them will be undertaken in other parts of the world.

G. ARTHUR BROWN
Jamaica Credit Union League
Kingston, Jamaica

SOCIETIES AROUND THE WORLD.

—By Irwin T. Sanders, Joseph R. Schwendeman, Richard B. Woodbury. The Dryden Press, New York, 1953. Vol. I, pp. xii, 528; Vol. II, pp. xii, 608. \$5.90 each volume.

This two-volume text is designed to introduce college students to the social universe as an era of scientific study. Six existing societies—Eskimo, Navajo, Baganda, Chinese Peasant, Cotton South, English Midlands—are described in a series of selections of uneven merit, culled from studies of the respective societies and threaded together by transitional comments. A few original essays are also included.

The student is directed how best to use the texts in an introductory essay of real worth. The editors point out that, though each of the six societies is studied as a totality, the stress in the second volume is on socio-cultural change. In the first volume stress is laid on social structures.

Those who on principle reject the comparative method for beginning students can argue eloquently that this text will overload the student with facts rather than instruct him in principles. Capable teachers, however, should be able to guide their students in this matter by integrating lectures and discussions.

The editors wisely point out that they expect students to disagree with some of their statements. Their expectations will certainly be fulfilled. The disguised *philosophy* of man (Vol. I, p. 504) according to which socio-culture makes man, Man; the view that man's efforts to understand the great questions concerning his own origin and destiny are means to overcome his own weakness in the face of forces he neither understands nor controls, (Vol. I, p. 505); the view that murder is a violation of commonly accepted *privileges* (Vol. I, p. 508) and that the prohibition of marriage among close relatives is a *taboo* (Vol. I, p. 26); these are samples of what one reviewer interprets as manifestations of a very inadequate philosophy of man. Fortunately,

the value of this textbook-set does not depend on the philosophical aberrations of its editors.

JOHN E. BLEWETT, S.J.
St. Mary's College

RACE AND CLASS IN RURAL BRAZIL.—Edited by Charles Wagley. Columbia University Press, New York, 1952, 160 pp. \$1.25.

This is a report of studies carried out by the *Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Ciência na Bahia* and the Division of Social Sciences of UNESCO. It comprises three studies of race relations in rural Brazilian communities: "*Bahian Recôncavo*," (Harry W. Hutchinson); "*Minas Velas*, a Community in the Mountain Region of Central Brazil," (Martin Harris) and "*Arid Sertão*" [Hinterland], (Ben Zimmerman). To these studies are added, "An Amazon Community" (Charles Wagley) and a short report on class relations in North Brazil.

As Wagley states in his preface, the book "represents the first results of a fairly extensive research program in the fields of sociology and social anthropology undertaken by the *Fundação* in cooperation with the department of Anthropology of Columbia University." The report gives a good, representative picture of interracial relations in rural Brazil, where the problem is more typical. Moreover, the report faithfully outlines the historical development of the problem from colonial times. In conjunction with the work might be read Peter J. Corbett, "Racial Problem in Brazil," *SOCIAL ORDER*, 3 o.s. (January, 1950) 27-32.

LUCIO CAMPOS, S.J.
Woodstock College

THE PATTERN OF A DEPENDENT ECONOMY: A Study of the National Income of British Honduras.—By N. S. Carey Jones. Cambridge University Press, 1953, xv, 163 pp. \$4.00.

The specialist economist and the interested layman have the same pleasant surprise waiting in this book as the English professor had in *The Old Man and the Sea*. It would be difficult to find a more sympathetically-told story of a little-known people at our very doorstep and a more thorough, scholarly treatment of their economic situation. Skillfully woven into this are the author's most valuable observations, human and penetrating, on colonial government and policies.

Mr. Carey Jones was never content, during his stay as auditor in British Honduras, merely to tap pen to lip and say, "I wonder really what the ordinary man

in the street thinks of this." On the contrary, he always unaffectedly considered himself the ordinary man, and thus he was able most convincingly to discuss the development of the Crown Colony from the point-of-view of its present inhabitants, rather than from the abstract objective of unevaluated increased production. His study could only have been written by an accomplished economist, who was, at the same time, a kindly man, deeply interested in human beings and their problems.

What is so rare as the economist who can blandly discuss the relative protection of a Government-sponsored insurance scheme budgeting hurricane damage and of the annual Belize procession in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, petitioning protection against the same hurricanes? Or one who could come up with the matter-of-fact conclusion that one may be just as good a system of insurance as the other?

The jacket states that the book contains valuable information for the colonial and commercial historian, the colonial administrator, the civil servant and, not least, the anthropologist, studying the impact of colonial administration on native society. Add to all that: this is a book for anyone who would like to travel and to meet intimately a very fine people and know their problems.

MARION M. GANEY, S.J.
St. John's College
Belize, British Honduras

ASIAN NATIONALISM AND THE WEST.—Edited by William L. Holland. Macmillan, New York, 1953, viii, 449 pp. \$5.00.

Based on the eleventh Institute of Pacific Relations conference (held in 1950, Lucknow, India) this book gives a summary of the discussions and excerpts from some of the papers presented. However, the greater part of the book is taken up by three papers on Indonesia, Vietnam and Malaya.

The central fact in Indonesia is the coming of independence and, with it, a tremendous psychological about-face from fighting against an old order to building a new order. A confused flux of events moves around this fact. George McT. Kahin tries to clarify this confusion by analyzing the different Indonesian political parties and showing the events as effects of their reactions on each other and on the Dutch and Japanese. This study also throws light on such questions as Indonesia's refusal to participate in the cold war.

Philippe Devillers gives a lucid exposition of wavering French policy in Vietnam. The present deadlock, he holds, could have been averted if France had not been so unamenable to granting self-govern-

ment to the Vietnamese. Cold and impersonal, this paper still conveys a sense of heartbreak. It ends with a note of hope which subsequent events have not fulfilled.

T. H. Silcock and Ungku Abdul Aziz explain Malaya's problem as having its roots in the pre-war situation of three races (Malay, Chinese, Hindu) living together under one colonial government. War and the sudden peace introduced new complications. The present goal of Malaya is to form one national consciousness out of three different races and cultures.

The book as a whole gives the feel of the Asian scene: tension and constant change. An old order has not yet died, but a new order is already coming into being. And no one knows what it will be like.

ROQUE FERRIOLS, S.J.
Woodstock, Md.

THE CATHOLIC MIND THROUGH FIFTY YEARS: 1903-1953.—Edited by Benjamin L. Masse, S.J. America Press, New York, 1952, xxii, 681 pp. \$5.00.

The contents of this excellent volume need no selling to readers of SOCIAL ORDER. In it Father Masse offers 104 articles reprinted in *The Catholic Mind* over the past fifty years. Thus we have here a twice-screened selection of outstanding Catholic discussion on a variety of topics. One is tempted to review each item of social import. Let it suffice to say that it is hard to disagree with the editor's choice, though each reader, I suppose, will have a few favorites he may feel have been slighted. Some selections obviously were made more on the basis of current pertinence, but most should have a permanent value that will make this book a useful tool for handy reference on any of the twenty major topics under which these articles are grouped.

DONALD CAMPION, S.J.
Woodstock College

SCIENCE AND RELIGION IN AMERICAN THOUGHT.—By Edward A. White. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Cal., 1952, 117 pp. \$2.50.

This book presents an analysis of the views of six American thinkers of the period 1860-1930 on the relation between science and religion. Writing "from the perspective of Christian presuppositions" (p. vii.) the author optimistically concludes that a half-century of conflict issued in a "notable revival of religious thought" (p. 8), yet this conclusion does not seem to be substantiated by the few brief quotations which he furnishes.

While the chapters on the thought of Draper, Fiske and Dewey contain praise-

worthy summaries, it is regrettable that Andrew White and William James do not receive more thorough treatment in view of their great influence on the American scientific world. By the same token the central position accorded David Jordan seems out of proportion to his contribution, which "was limited to a reiteration through the years . . . of a few leading propositions." (p. 58)

The four pages of criticism of the instrumentalism of John Dewey (pp. 106-109) are among the finest in the book. However, if the author had included equally detailed criticisms of the other systems instead of confining himself mainly to pointing out the false assumptions of the man who carried naturalism to its logical, although devastating, conclusions, the result would perhaps have been a more unified and superior book.

THOMAS F. EGAN, S.J.
Woodstock College

IMPATIENT CRUSADER. — By Josephine Goldmark. University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1953, xii, 317 pp. \$3.50.

This is the dramatic story of Florence Kelley as told by one of her friends and close acquaintances. Florence Kelley worked more than forty years to bring about social reform especially in the fields of child-labor and minimum hours. She worked at a time of crisis in our nation following the difficult period of reconstruction after the Civil War. Her struggles, her successes—many of which we take for granted today—are told in a pleasing and factual manner. For a greater understanding about our present day child labor laws, prenatal care to lower maternal and infant mortality and many related problems, this book gives the historical background of this valiant woman's constant battle.

GEORGE TWIGG-PORTER, S.J.
Alma College

PRIMER ON ROMAN CATHOLICISM FOR PROTESTANTS.—By Stanley I. Stuber. Association Press, New York, 1953, xii, 276 pp. \$2.50.

The idea and the execution of this book deserve the highest praise. Regretting his fellow Protestants' misconceptions of things Catholic, the Rev. Dr. Stuber has produced a volume which should do much to correct mistaken ideas.

The author explains aspects of Catholic beliefs and practices and adds a critique from the Protestant point of view. The Catholic position, based on readily available material such as catechisms and ency-

clicals of the Popes, has, we are informed, been checked by Catholic scholars. Certainly the exposition of the Catholic viewpoint is eminently fair. Only two mistakes have been noted. Both occur on page 98, where, through inadvertence, a phrase has been left out of the Apostles' Creed, and the creeds have been added to the Bible and tradition as the original sources of faith.

The author's presentation of the Protestant viewpoint will not be entirely acceptable to many Protestants. But it is to be hoped that large numbers of them will read this book.

FRANCIS X. CURRAN, S.J.
Church of St. Francis Xavier
New York City

HISTORY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—By Dr. Paul Heinisch. Translated by William Heidt, O.S.B. The Liturgical Press, St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1952, 492 pp. \$6.50.

This companion volume to the celebrated *Theology of the Old Testament* is concerned chiefly with studying the way the Israelites responded to the revealed truths taught by their religious leaders. Though relying largely on the Old Testament books themselves, Dr. Heinisch draws discerningly from non-Biblical sources to illuminate obscurities and to provide perspectives in Israel's history.

The narrative moves along smoothly without bogging down in incidentals. The 45 pages of notes and references, however, will scotch any suspicion that Dr. Heinisch has preferred popularization to scholarship.

Readers of SOCIAL ORDER will probably find most interesting the parts on Israelite culture, religious conditions and civic life. The whole book, however, should be read by anyone concerned with religion, culture, social anthropology and related sciences.

JOHN BLEWETT, S.J.
St. Mary's College

THE OLD TESTAMENT: Keystone of Human Culture.—By William A. Irwin. Henry Schuman, New York, 1952, xiii, 272 pp. \$4.

To interpret the thought of the Bible is to venture upon a field of battle where the conflict has not yet subsided. Professor Irwin, however, assumes the hazard undaunted. Motivated by the conviction that much of its historical and cultural significance has been overlooked, both by the critical movement, because of excessive scepticism, and by the theological movement, because of "ponderous preconceptions," the author emphasizes the unrivaled

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creative influence of the Old Testament. The Hebrew concepts of God, the world, man, law, history, society and politics are some of the subjects discussed.

With some of the author's tenets the Catholic student will take issue. The evolutionary theory of monotheism, the documentary hypothesis, the inseparability of freedom and evil, and the myth theory of the Fall are but a few.

Readers will find in this book a reaffirmation of the truth that our most contentious problems today are Biblical problems. A bibliography and an index of scripture passages supplement the text.

A TEST OF FAMILY ATTITUDES.—
By Lydia Jackson, D.Phil, B.Sc. Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1952, 37 pp. plus 8 sketches. \$2.50.

This booklet is designed to serve as an instrument of "research into the attitudes towards the family of normal, neurotic and delinquent children." The eight pencil-sketched scenes are parent-child situations most likely to arouse the basic emotions in the child. The actual case studies presented illustrate the variety of emotions among children of various ages and backgrounds. Such reactions serve as a starting point for further study.

LETTERS

Private Education

I just finished reading O'Neill's article, "Education and Liberty," [September, 1953, pp. 305-12]. The man is simply devastating when he exposes the fallacious thinking of anyone he criticizes. I have read most of the articles on church-state relationships with education and have found that generally they are written for persons interested in constitutional law or in higher education. This was the first article that brought the issue down to the level of the parent and of teachers in the elementary and secondary schools.

It seems to me that this article should receive wider publicity than is normally accorded such material. Might I suggest that you send reprints of it to diocesan papers throughout the country, giving them permission to reprint it in its entirety or such sections as they deem advisable.

Again, may I congratulate you on your splendid article, as well as on **SOCIAL ORDER** generally.

WILLIAM J. MEHOK, S.J.
Jesuit Educational Association
New York, N. Y.

▶ Excerpts from this article have been printed widely in the weekly press. The entire article is to be reprinted in an early issue of *The Catholic Mind*. Ed.

I hope that your article, "Education and Liberty," [by Dr. J. M. O'Neill] will get wide circulation. It points out not only the nonsense in the secularist attack upon private education (at the primary and sec-

ondary levels only, be it noted!) but, even more important, the totalitarian threat that lies only thinly veiled under insinuations that such schools are "a threat to our democratic unity."

Perhaps Mr. Conant's stay in Germany will help him to see the advantages of our method of solving an admittedly difficult problem.

DELBERT G. HODGES

Chicago, Ill.

Professor O'Neill's experience with private education in many parts of the country could be confirmed by most discerning parents. When emotions and prejudice do not obscure judgment, intelligent persons can readily see the advantage of maintaining *different* and *competing* educational systems. Each can learn from the other, and both can profit from the competitive spirit which has accomplished so much in business.

GERALD T. HALL

Buffalo, N. Y.

... The essay on James Conant's *Education and Liberty* is the best thing I have seen on that book. Is the author, J. M. O'Neill, the man who did the job on Blanshardism?

THOMAS F. SULLIVAN

Brooklyn, N. Y.

▶ As was noted in "... just a few things:" last month, Dr. O'Neill, who was formerly head of the department of speech at Brooklyn College, is the author of *Catholicism and American Freedom*, a discussion of Paul Blanshard's *American Freedom and Catholic Power*. Ed.

Women in Politics

William A. Nolan's article on the opportunities for women in political life makes some wise suggestions about their conduct, but it is of little use for those who are seeking ways to take their first steps toward office. The article is valuable, however, simply because it keeps before women, preoccupied with dozens of distracting duties, the important responsibilities which the vote has placed upon them.

We Texans are proud of the fact that "Ma" Ferguson was the first woman to hold office as governor of a state in this country.

CELESTE HALSEY

Dallas, Tex.

Work and Leisure

After reading Josef Pieper's essay, *Leisure, the Basis of Culture* (Pantheon), I went back to the commentary on it in an article, "Leisure and Work" (SOCIAL ORDER, 2 [April, 1952] 147-54). Pieper certainly writes well about a real problem. We have lost the very concept of leisure in our haste to relax.

Those of us who see the industrial problem with its tremendous dislocations are inclined to consider work as the key to the restoration of a good social order. We might be a bit impatient with Pieper in his building up the case for leisure. Yet if we do not balance leisure with work, we might have a Marxist tinge in our view of work.

The greater error is to think a restoration of leisure is possible without a restoration of work as a humanizing element in life. The SOCIAL ORDER article did an excellent job in showing the relationship and putting the proper emphasis on work.

DENNIS J. GEANEY, O.S.A.

St. Thomas High School
Rockford, Ill.

From Other Lands

I have been reading your magazine since its very first issue. In fact, I have all the copies bound for present and future reference. They are invaluable to me in all my work. . . .

NORMAN R. WALLING

Manila, P. I.

I am very pleased with your excellent review. It is serious and still interesting. I hope that I shall get many more points of instruction and inspiration from it.

TIBOR VAJDA

Taichung, Taiwan

I appreciate SOCIAL ORDER very much. . . . We are starting a new drive for the spread of Catholic social teaching. We have done a little in past years, but not nearly enough, to try to get across social ideas. And SOCIAL ORDER will be most useful.

(REV.) F. C. FENN, S.J.

Georgetown, British Guiana

Just a word of appreciation for the fine work being done by SOCIAL ORDER. It has been a wonderful help in my sociological classes here. I'm especially pleased with the way it awakens and stimulates the interest of the students (seminarians) in social problems.

Can't say which number I've liked best. They're all tops. God's blessings on your work.

W. T. TRAYNOR, C. SS. R.

St. Alphonsus Seminary
Woodstock, Ont., Canada

. . . and from Home

I have just recently been introduced to SOCIAL ORDER and find it to be my guiding bible. It is excellent.

REED DONNELLY

University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Ark.

Every issue of SOCIAL ORDER has at least one article that justifies my subscription. I was very pleased to note the correspondence resulting from Fr. Thomas' article on Catholic college spinsters (October, 1952). Much discussion is needed to clear up more than a few hasty generalizations about Catholic life and customs in America.

SOCIAL ORDER manages to upset my schedule each month until I have read it from cover to cover. My only regret is that it is not published oftener.

FRANCIS AVESING

St. Louis

Acknowledgments

P. 344: "New Light on Population," *The Catholic Mind*, 51 (September, 1953) 516-17.

P. 350: Cited from *Social Action* (Poona, India), 1 (August, 1952) 146.

P. 360: *Thorstein Veblen: A Critical Interpretation*, Scribners, 1953, p. 86.

P. 366: *The Wage Earner* (Detroit), September, 1953, p. 12.

SOCIAL ORDER

Worth Reading

J. Robert Oppenheimer, "Atomic Weapons and American Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, 31 (July, 1953) 525-35.

Stirred by the dangers implicit in the headlong atomic weapons race, the Director of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton recommends greater candor in sharing with the American people and their allies not precisely atomic secrets but specific information about the present status of atomic weapons and more diligent efforts at defense—including future steps toward the regulation of armaments.

John D. Black, "Should Economists Make Value Judgments?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 267 (May, 1953) 286-297.

More and more this question comes to the fore, says Harvard's Professor Black. And what shall be said in answer? The discussion cites provocative quotations from International Harvester's John L. McCaffrey's address at the University of Chicago. The question is called by both men "a major one for economists and universities."

Hugh and Elise Morrow, "The Troubles of Ike's Labor Expert," *Saturday Evening Post*, 226 (September 5, 1953) 25 ff.

This recent article has its instructional and thoughtful points, made more significant by the Secretary's resignation last month. It shows that the former secretary kept peace among unionists, improved collective bargaining and promoted industries for distressed areas, largely by "keeping his temper and avoiding mistakes."

Benjamin Aaron, "Public Opinion and the Union Shop," *The Southern Economic Journal*, 20 (July, 1953) 74-80.

Union security is "certainly one of the foremost issues in labor-management relations which have not been solved." Does the public understand the facts of the issue? No, reports a U.C.L.A. professor after a survey of 1,350 letters on the subject written by people in 42 states.

Cyril Clump, "Communism in India," *The Christian Democrat*, 4 (July, 1953) 147-154.

Few outsiders are acquainted with developments inside India other than those given by an occasional newspaper item. Here Father Clump, longtime resident and member of the Indian Institute of Social Order (Poona), shows that Indian communism is trying to appeal to the idealism of young Indians, while the U. S. approach materialistically offers "a mess of pottage."

Charles A. Barker, "The Followers of Henry George," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 12 (July, 1953) 379-391.

Professor Barker of Johns Hopkins here studies five men in their relationship with a famous leader. They are Dr. Edward Taylor, Francis Shaw, Edward Glynn, Thomas Sherman and Tom Loftin Johnson—an intellectual, a rich man, an active priest, a distinguished lawyer and a statesman.

Robert C. Pollock, ed., "Luigi Sturzo, an Anthology of His Work," *Thought*, 28 (Summer, 1953) 165-208.

A careful selection of excerpts from the writings of Don Luigi Sturzo arranged under topical headings to comprise a compendium of his thought. Collected by "the first and most expert of all the expositors of his work."

Charles Donahue, "Freedom and Education: the Sacral Problem," *Thought*, 28 (Summer, 1953) 209-33.

An important article in Prof. Donahue's continuing analysis of secular culture in the United States. Here he points out that religious critics of public education oppose, not the uncommitted secularity which is an historical element of American society, but the monopolistic presentation of secularism as a sacral, "religious" attitude.

A name to watch . . .

SOCIAL ORDER

OCTOBER, 1953

Be sure to watch for these authors and articles
in coming issues of **SOCIAL ORDER** . . .

- J. M. Becker . . . Advisory Groups on Unemployment Compensation*
Neil Hurley . . . Artificial Dialectic
J. David . . . Family Allowances in Germany
Jerome Schwier . . . Minimum Wage and Family Income
H. K. Junckerstorff . . . Automation: the Robot Factory
James V. Schall . . . Liberty and Property
Joseph B. Schuyler . . . German Unions and Religion
Blaine Schmidt . . . Credit Union's Progress
Carl F. Taeusch . . . Impressions of Modern Turkey
Joseph B. Schuyler . . . European Social Guidebook
E. A. Kurth . . . The German Co-management Law
John W. Conoyer . . . The South's New Look
David C. Bayne . . . Divorce Law Reform
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